

THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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(THE)
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
(AND
(JOURNAL)
OF THE
(NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.)

EDITED BY

JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., LL.D., TREAS.R.S., F.S.A.,
W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S.,
AND
BARCLAY V. HEAD.

NEW SERIES.—VOL. XIX.



Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. *Fast.*

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1878—79.

OCTOBER 17, 1878.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the
Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the
table:—

1. *Les causes célèbres.* From M. Alex. de Lubowsky.
2. *Remarks on the Coinages of Alexander II. of Scotland*, by R. W. Cochran-Patrick, Esq., F.S.A.Scot. From the Author.
3. *L'Art Kemer et la Nouvelle Société Indo-Chinoise*, by M. Le Grand. From the Commission of the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1878.
4. *Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Bulletins. Livraisons*, 100–104.
5. *Recherches historiques sur les établissements hospitaliers de la ville de St. Omer.* From the Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie.
6. *Supplément aux quatre premiers fascicules des Documents*, par A. Engel. *Extrait de la Revue d'Alsace.* From the Author.
7. *Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademiens Månadsblad*, 1872–77. From the Academy, Stockholm.
8. *Minnespenningar öfver enskilda Svenska män och quinnor.*—*Svenska sigiller från Medeltiden.* Pts. I. and II.—*Sveriges och Svenska konungshusets Minnespenningar praktmynt och*

belonungsmedaljer. Vols. i. and ii. By B. E. Hildebrand. From the Academy of Stockholm.

9. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. x., Part III. From the Society.

10. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 4th Series, vol. iv., Nos. 33, 34, 1878, with Index and Notes. From the Association.

11. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. vii., No. 4. From the Society.

12. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Bd. vi., Heft 1 and 2. From the Editor.

13. Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique de St. Pétersbourg pour l'année 1875, with Atlas. From the Commission.

14. Synopsis Numorum Veterum qui in Museo Numismatico Athenarum publice adservantur, by A. Postolacca. From the Author.

15. Revue Belge de Numismatique. Liv. 3, 1878. From the Editor.

16. Florin d'argent inédit d'Egenolphe de Rebeaupierre. By A. Engel. From the Author.

17. Mélanges de Numismatique, 1877. Fasc. 5 and 6. From the Editors.

18. Bulletino di Correspondenza Archeologica, 1878. Nos. 6-9. From the Imperial German Archæological Institute at Rome.

19. Miscellaneous Papers on Roman and other Coins, and a "Supplement to the History of Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testaments," and "Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine I. the Great, his Family and his Successors." By F. W. Madden, Esq. From the Author.

Mr. Evans exhibited a second brass or dupondius of Agrippa, struck on the *flan* of a medallion.

Mr. Webb exhibited a singular half-crown of Charles I., dated 1643, with the mark of value above and OXON below the inscription in the field of the reverse.

Mr. Grueber exhibited an electrotype of a false ten-shilling piece of Charles I., similar to the Oxford crown.

The Rev. W. G. Searle exhibited a variety of a second brass coin of Constantine the Great; not in Cohen. *Obv.*—FL.VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB.C. Laureate bust, right, wearing cuirass. *Rev.*—VIRTVS AVGG. ET CAESS. NN. Constantine on horseback galloping to right, on left a shield; in right a spear with which he pierces an enemy—near him lies a shield and spear. In exergue P.L.N.

Mr. C. F. Keary read a paper on the Coinages of Western Europe, from the Fall of the Western Empire to the Accession of Charlemagne. Part IV. Printed in vol. xix., page 23.

NOVEMBER 21, 1878.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. Bd. vii., Heft 3. From the Editor.

2. *Des vieux maîtres d'orfèvrerie en Allemagne et de l'authenticité des médailles d'Albert Dürer*. By M. C. Picqué. From the Author.

3. *List of Publications of the Smithsonian Institution*, July, 1877. From the Institution.

Mr. F. J. M'Intyre and the Rev. C. J. Rodgers were elected members.

Mr. Copp exhibited a pattern set of the copper money of George III., comprising two unpublished specimens; also pattern halfpennies in silver and copper of William and Mary. Mr. Copp also exhibited two specimens of the false ten-shilling piece of Charles I., with the view of Oxford under the horse, from the same die as the one lately published by the Rev. G. J. Chester, and accepted by him as authentic.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited a pattern rupee of William IV., dated 1834, the obverse being from the puncheon of the shilling; and Mr. Evans a gold coin of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan and Lord of Anghiari.

Mr. Keary, in continuation of a discussion adjourned from the last meeting, argued that the Saxon silver sceattas were imitated from the silver money of Carausius, issued for the use of the Saxon colonists in this island; a theory which was controverted by Mr. Evans, who maintained that they were copied from the copper money circulating in Britain at the time of their first issue.

Mr. P. Gardner read a paper in which he proposed the re-attribution of certain Greek coins. See vol. xviii., p. 261.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper on Himyarite and other early Arabian imitations of the coins of Athens, and exhibited a selection from a hoard lately found at San'â, near Aden, consisting of about three hundred Himyarite coins bearing inscriptions in the Himyarite character.

Col. Prideaux made some remarks on the interpretation of the inscriptions, which he supposed to contain the names of several hitherto unknown kings of Yemen and Hadhramaut. For this paper, see vol. xviii. p. 273.

DECEMBER 19, 1878.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Académie royale de Belgique: Bulletins. 2nd série. T. 41—45. Ditto, Annuaire, 1877—78. From the Academy.
2. Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. xii. From the Kent Archæological Society.
3. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 1877. Pts. I.—IV., 1878; Pt. I., with Tillæg to the same, 1876; and

Mémoires, 1877. From the Société des Antiquaires du Nord, Copenhagen.

4. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin: Transactions. Vol. xxv., Part XX.; vol. xxvi., Parts VI.—XVII.; vol. xxviii., Part I. From the Academy.

5. Aeneidea, or Critical Remarks on the Aeneis. By James Henry. 2 vols. From the Author.

6. Handbook of the Coinage of Scotland. By J. D. Robertson, Esq. From the Author.

7. Dictionnaire de Numismatique. By A. Boutkowski. Tome I., vol. i. From the Author.

8. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Heft 61—63. From the Society.

9. The Coinage of Lydia and Persia. Numismata Orientalia. Part III. By B. V. Head. From the Author.

10. The Twelve Cæsars. By R. Morris, LL.D. From B. V. Head.

11. Sur quelques monnaies anépigraphes attribuées indûment à la ville de Maronéa en Thrace. By H. F. Bompais. From the Author.

12. Monnaies d'argent frappées à Héracléa de Bithynie. By H. F. Bompais. From the Author.

13. Bulletino dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica. Nos. 10 and 11, 1878. From the Imperial German Archaeological Institute at Rome.

14. Catalogus Romanorum et Germanicorum Imperatorum et eorum effigies. 1561. From the Rev. Canon Pownall, F.S.A.

15. A Descriptive List of the Provincial Copper Coins and Tokens issued between the years 1786 and 1796. By S. Birchall. From the Rev. F. B. M. Bridges.

16. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

Mr. J. S. Buchan, Major A. Davies, and Mr. G. J. Rowland were elected members.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited a complete set of the silver, copper,

and tin coins of William and Mary, English, Scotch, and Irish.

Mr. Evans read a paper on gold coins struck in late Saxon times, and exhibited a gold coin of Ethelred II. of the type of the silver penny (Hawkins, No. 203), and having on the reverse LEOFPINE MIO LÆPE. This unique piece was found by a farm labourer about the year 1808, in a field on West Street Farm, in Hellingly, Sussex. See vol. xix. p. 62.

Mr. F. W. Madden communicated a paper on rare or unpublished Jewish coins, in which he discussed—first, a half-shekel of the year 4; second, coins of Simon Bar-cohab; third, a coin of Herod Antipas; and, fourth, coins of Agrippa I. and II. Printed, vol. xix. p. 13.

JANUARY 16, 1879.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L, LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1879. *Livraison 1.* From the Editor.

2. *Monete Arabiche del Gabinetto Numismatico di Milano.* By J. Ghiron. From the Author.

The Hon. C. W. Fremantle and the Hon. Milo George Talbot were elected members.

Mr. Evans exhibited a decadrachm of Syracuse in a very fine state of preservation, by the artist Evænetus.

Major A. B. Creeke communicated a note on a presumed farthing of Regnald I.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick communicated a paper on some Mint Accounts of the kingdom of Scotland, after the accession of James VI., containing particulars of the amount of standard silver minted between A.D. 1605 and 1695, and of the number of the various silver coins struck from it. Printed in vol. xix. p. 66.

FEBRUARY 20, 1879.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. N.S., vol. xi., Part I. From the Society.

2. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1878. Liv. 4. From the Editor.

3. Numismatische Zeitschrift. 1877, 2^{tes} semester; 1878, 1^{es} and 2^{tes} semester. From the Numismatic Society of Vienna.

4. Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Royal Grand-ducal de Luxembourg, 1877. Part XXXII. (X.) From the Institute.

5. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 4th Series, vol. iv., July, 1878. From the Association.

6. Bulletino dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica. No. 12, Dec., 1878. From the Imperial German Archæological Institute at Rome.

7. Documents pour servir à la Numismatique de l'Alsace. No. 7. By A. Engel. From the Author.

8. Études sur les Grandes Collections de Numismatique de l'Allemagne. By A. Engel. From the Author.

9. Bronze medal of the Savannah Benevolent Association. From Mr. Ripley, of Savannah.

Messrs. J. H. Blundell and H. Erhardt were elected members.

Mr. Frentzel exhibited a collection of copper coins of George III., consisting of about two hundred and fifty varieties, many of them being curious forgeries; also ten varieties of the Pretender's halfpenny, 1760.

The Rev. Canon Pownall exhibited three pennies of William

Rufus, from the Tamworth find, one of which, struck at Worcester, had a double circle in the centre of the cross on the reverse.

The Hon. J. Gibbs, of Bombay, sent for exhibition photographs of zodiacal gold mohurs and of forged imitations of the same.

Mr. P. Heward exhibited a series of Chinese coins, commencing with specimens of the Knife Money, which is believed to be of very remote antiquity. His collection was accompanied by a descriptive catalogue.

Mr. Webster showed a drachm of Antiochus VIII. struck at Tarsus, and having the so-called "Tomb of Sardanapalus" on the reverse; also a penny of the Earl of Warwick (*temp.* Stephen), of the Bristol mint. The following coins were also laid upon the table by Mr. Webster:—A triple sovereign of Charles I., type of Snelling, Pl. VI. No. 10, but with "1614 OX.;" an unpublished two-guinea piece of Charles II.; a pattern seven-shilling piece of George III., 1798, struck on a half-guinea *flan*; and a pattern dollar of Queen Victoria, struck for Hong Kong, 1864.

Papers were communicated by Mr. H. Webb, "On Early Silver Coins of Charles II.;" by Mr. C. Patrick, "On Medals relating to the Battle of Culloden;" and by Mr. S. L. Poole, "On Unpublished Arabic Coins from the Collection of the Rev. T. Calvert." See vol. xix. pp. 92, 142, and 74.

MARCH 20, 1879.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1879. Part I. From the Numismatic Society of Vienna.

2. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. vii. No. 3. From the Editors.

3. *Bulletino dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica*, 1879. Parts I. and II., with list of members of the Imperial German Archæological Institute. From the Institute.

4. An autotype plate of enlarged Greek coins. From Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer.

Lieut. H. W. Morrieson, R.A., was elected a member.

Mr. Evans exhibited a silver penny of Archbishop Aethilheard and Offa, King of Mercia, found in Cambridgeshire, one of three specimens known. The type is that of *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. v., Pl. XIV., No. 6.

Mr. Frentzel exhibited sets of the new gold and silver Japanese coinage struck in copper, a pattern dollar of Hong Kong, 1863, and a pattern quarter-farthing of Hong Kong, 1868, struck in nickel.

Mr. P. Gardner read a paper on a find of gold and silver coins in Bokhara. The find consisted mainly of the money of early princes of the Seleucid dynasty; but among these were two gold coins of hitherto unknown monarchs—one bearing the name of Andragoras, which Mr. Gardner attributed to a prince of that name who ruled in Parthia between B.C. 330 and 250; the other having an inscription, in the Aramaic character, *Pad-i-Pada Phahasp*, or *Phahaspes Lord of Lords*. This coin, which bears a striking portrait of a king wearing a Persian tiara, Mr. Gardner ascribed to a king of Persepolis of about the same period. See vol. xix. p. 1.

APRIL 17, 1879.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. Bd. vi., Heft 4. From the Editor.

2. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1879. 2^{me} liv. From the Editor.

3. *Collectanea Antiqua*. Vol. iii., Part II. From C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

4. Notes upon the Collection of Coins and Medals now upon Exhibition at the Pennsylvania Museum. By H. Phillips, Junior. From the Author.

The Rev. J. Baron, D.D., and Messrs. J. Cossins, C. E. Fewster, and W. Myers were elected members.

Mr. R. Hoblyn read a paper "On the Edinburgh Coinage of Queen Anne, 1707—9," of which he exhibited a complete set, consisting of two varieties of the crown, three of the half-crown, eight of the shilling, and four of the sixpence, all bearing the mint-mark E or E*. See vol. xix. p. 138.

Mr. C. F. Keary read a paper "On the Renaissance Medals of Italy," which is printed in vol. xix. p. 196.

MAY 15, 1879.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. xi., Part II. From the Society.

2. *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*. 2^{me} Série, Tome i., Part II., 1878. From the Society.

3. *Comptes-rendus of the same Society*. Tome vi., 1875. From the Society.

4. *Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia on March 20th, 1879*. From the Society.

5. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*. 2nd Series, vol. vii., No. 5. From the Society.

6. *Bulletino dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica*. Nos. 3 and 4, March and April, 1879. From the Imperial German Archæological Institute at Rome.

7. On Silver Regal Money coined in Devonshire mints. By H. S. Gill, Esq. From the Author.

Mr. J. Lowe was elected a member of the Society.

Mr. Webb exhibited a pattern halfpenny of George III., with an eagle's head under the bust, by Droz, the head being adapted from that of Louis XVI., and the figure of Britannia on the reverse being naked.

The Rev. Canon Pownall exhibited an uninscribed British gold coin found at Bourne, Lincolnshire, resembling Evans Pl. B 1 and Pl. A 12; also a pattern for a half-farthing of James I., figured in Snelling's "Copper Coinage of England," section 11; also a farthing of Charles I., with sceptres under the crown; and a strip of copper stamped with the obverse and reverse dies of four royal farthings of Charles I., having the rose mint-mark.

Mr. H. S. Gill exhibited a halfpenny of King John struck at Dublin, and a farthing of Edward I. struck at Waterford.

Mr. C. Roach Smith communicated a paper on a discovery of Roman altars and coins near the site of Procolitia, on the line of the Roman wall. Printed in vol. xix. p. 85.

Mr. R. Hoblyn read a paper on Scottish coins struck with mill and screw between the year 1637 and the union of England and Scotland in 1707, and exhibited a selection of specimens in illustration of his paper. See vol. xix. p. 108.

JUNE 19, 1879.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Rev. T. W. Jex-Blake, D.D., was elected a member of the Society.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, and have to announce their loss by death of the following member :—

J. Gray, Esq., of Glasgow.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in recording the election of the fifteen following members :—

Rev. John Baron, D.D., F.S.A.	J. Lowe, Esq.
Rev. T. W. Jex-Blake, D.D.	F. J. McIntyre, Esq.
J. H. Blundell, Esq.	Lieut. H. Walters Morrie- son, R.A.
J. Cossins, Esq.	Walter Myers, Esq., F.S.A.
Major A. Davies.	Rev. C. J. Rodgers.
H. Erhardt, Esq.	G. J. Rowland, Esq.
C. E. Fewster, Esq.	The Hon. Milo George Talbot.
The Hon. C. W. Fremantle.	

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore as follows :—

	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1878	183	39	222
Since elected	15	—	15
	198	39	237
Deceased	4	—	4
Resigned	2	—	2
Erased	—	—	—
June, 1879	192	39	231

The President then delivered the following address :—

It is now my pleasing duty once more to address you at the close of another session. The past year has not been in any way an eventful one for this Society, but we may look back upon it with some degree of satisfaction, as, not only have our losses by death and resignation been extremely small, but our accessions of new members, notwithstanding the unfavourable financial condition of the country, have been comparatively numerous.

The various papers which have been read at our evening meetings, or communicated to the "Numismatic Chronicle," have, as usual, been numerous and interesting, and have ranged over nearly the whole field of numismatics. Among those relating to the Greek coinage, I must mention one by our excellent secretary, Mr. Head, on an unpublished archaic tetradrachm of Olynthus, the type of which he regards as not improbably referring to an Olympian victory in the chariot race having been gained by a citizen of that town before B.C. 500. Assuming the author's attribution to Olynthus to be correct, he draws the inference that this place must have been a Hellenic city before it fell into the possession of the Bottiæans, who were established there in the time of Xerxes, and were destroyed by Artabazus.

A very important paper is that by our foreign secretary, Mr. Percy Gardner, on some Reattributions of Greek Coins. The first of these relates to the remarkable electrum coin first published by Mr. Newton, and thought to read **ΦΑΕΝΟΒ ΕΜΙ ΣΗΜΑ**, and possibly to bear some reference to Artemis. Mr. Gardner, however, suggests the reading **ΦΑΝΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΣΗΜΑ**, and the attribution of the coin to Phanes, a Halicarnassian, who assisted Cambyses in his invasion of Egypt about B.C. 527. The fact that the coin was found at Halicarnassus rather strengthens this attribution, which would not be materially impaired even if it eventually proved that an **E** or an **I** intervened between the **A** and the **N** of **ΦΑΝΟΣ**. The

second reattribution relates to the head on the coins of Lamia in Thessaly, which has been regarded as that of Apollo. In it, however, Mr. Gardner sees the portrait of Lamia, the beloved *hetaira* of Demetrius Poliorcetes; and if, as seems probable, his view is generally accepted, this coin, as he points out, affords both a curious illustration of one of the phases of ancient life in Greece, as well as the only instance of the contemporary portraiture on a coin of a Greek beauty who was not also a queen. The third reattribution relates to the occurrence of the head of Electryona, the daughter of the nymph Rhodos, on coins of Rhodes, where hitherto the head of Helios has been thought to be represented.

Mr. Gardner has also given us a paper on some new coins from Bactria; among which we find for the first time coins of Andragoras, a satrap of Parthia mentioned by Justin, some other pieces with Aramaic inscriptions, which may probably be assigned to an unknown Phahaspes, and some new types of Antiochus I. and II.

Some coins of more difficult interpretation have been described by Mr. Head in his paper on Himyarite and other Arabian imitations of the coins of Athens. What the Philippus was to the inhabitants of Gaul and Britain, the Athenian tetradrachm appears to have been to the tribes occupying the eastern shores of the Red Sea; and the same process of degradation of the type by successive copyings of the more salient parts, in accordance with the natural law of producing the greatest amount of effect with the smallest amount of trouble, has led to much the same results in both parts of the world. On the small copper or brass coins obtained by Captain Burton from the land of Midian, the Athenian owl is often almost beyond recognition, and, had I not had some experience as to the power of survival of certain features on ancient British coins, I could hardly have recognised the eye of Pallas Athene in the principal type of the obverse of these small pieces. Some of the causes why the Athenian currency should

have attained so strong a hold in this part of Asia are pointed out by Mr. Head. The preference for certain foreign coins over others among semi-barbarous people has often been noticed, from the days when Tacitus observed the liking of the Germans for the *serrati* and *bigati* among the Roman denarii, until the present day, when "pillar dollars" are still struck for the demands of Chinese commerce.

The only other paper on ancient numismatics that I need note is that by Mr. Madden, on some rare or unpublished Jewish coins. The most remarkable of these is the half-shekel of the year 4—a plated coin, now in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

In Roman numismatics we have also to thank Mr. Madden for the completion of his essay on the Christian Emblems on the coins of Constantine and his family, which is replete with information on his subject. The later coins, of which he treats in this concluding part, are of great interest in connection with the early artistic representations of various saints, and the coin with the inscription **ANACTACIC** is of considerable historical interest. These pieces are, however, more properly of the mediæval than of the Roman age.

Another interesting paper on the subject of purely Roman coins has been communicated to us by our distinguished honorary member, Mr. C. Roach Smith. In it he called our attention to the discovery of nearly fourteen thousand coins, together with some four-and-twenty altars, for the most part dedicated to the goddess Coventina, in a well near the site of the Roman station Procolitia, on the line of the Roman wall. The coins are of all metals and dates, from the time of Mark Antony to that of Gratianus, and include between four thousand and five thousand of the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. It is also a curious feature that nearly five thousand of the coins are of the size known to collectors as large brass. Mr. Roach Smith regards the hoard as having constituted part of the contents of the military chest of the adjoining garrison, which,

with the altars, was hidden on the occasion of some irruption of the northern barbarians, and regards it as representative of the character of the currency in the north of Britain during the Later Empire. He alludes to the well-known instances of the deposit of coins as votive offerings in rivers and fountains, but sees nothing at all analogous to these in the case of Procolitia. It is with some degree of diffidence that I differ in opinion from an antiquary and numismatist of such experience as Mr. Roach Smith, and I am tempted to make use of the expression of Eckhel—"Habebit vir eruditus ejus sententiæ aptas causas, sed quas ignoro." To my mind, we have only to look at any of the large hoards of coins, deposited during the fourth century, which from time to time have been found in Britain, in order to be convinced that the coins from Procolitia, whatever the origin of their deposit, are not characteristic of the currency of the period. In such hoards the large brass coins of the earlier emperors are, as a rule, conspicuous by their absence, and the occurrence of the aurei of Nero or Antonine, instead of the solidi of the Constantine period, is absolutely unknown. The coins in such hoards rarely comprise any varying in date by more than a quarter of a century or half a century at the outside, but at Procolitia the coins extend over about three hundred and fifty years, and nearly every emperor and empress is represented. It is true that many of the coins are much worn by circulation, while those described by M. Baudot, from the shrine of the Dea Sequana, are for the most part in the highest state of preservation; but this may well be a mere matter of fashion, and in a remote part of the Roman empire like Northumberland, we can well imagine that the condition of a coin destined as a votive offering would not be specially regarded. When once the custom of dropping coins into a well was established, it would not be a very remarkable circumstance if some, or indeed many, of the offerings consisted of coins going out of circulation, which might have been thought to preserve a religious value long after their civil value had

depreciated. Even at Procolitia, however, some choice appears to have been made, at all events in early times, as there are no less than three hundred and twenty-seven of the second brass coins of Antoninus with the reverse of **BRITANNIA** in the hoard. The fact of the altars dedicated to the goddess Coventina being likewise carefully deposited in the well in which the coins were found, is, to my mind, also significant of this being a sacred spot in which votive offerings were deposited over a series of years, rather than a safe place for the temporary deposit of a military chest. What "brooches, rings, beads, and dice" had to do with a military chest, I am at a loss to discover; nor can I see why a human skull filled with coins should have formed part of such a treasure. I must not, however, detain you with further criticisms of this kind, having now placed on record my dissent from my friend, Mr. Roach Smith's, conclusions.

Another paper which relates to Roman numismatics is that by our secretary, Mr. Grueber, on a follis of Constantine the Great, struck at London.

In mediæval numismatics we have had but two papers, which, however, are of considerable importance. They are by Mr. Keary, in continuation of his former papers, and relate, the first to the coinage of the Merovingians, Visigoths, and Lombards, and the second more especially to the growth of a silver currency in Europe, and the earliest Saxon coinage in England. Following Mr. Dirks, the author expresses his opinion in the second paper that the origin of the sceatta currency can be traced to the silver money of Carausius; and certainly the types of many of the sceattas are degenerate descendants of Roman types which occur on the silver coins of that bold usurper. The argument, however, against the coins of Carausius being the actual prototypes, appears to me stronger than it has done to Mr. Keary. Not only are the silver coins of Carausius of great rarity, as is readily proved by the prices which they fetch, but I am not aware of any of them having been

discovered in north-western Germany, which appears to have been at all events one of the homes of the sceatta coinage. Moreover, any intermediate types are wanting, and we can hardly suppose that the memory of these coins, and the veneration for the emperor who struck them, could have survived during the two or three centuries which elapsed between his days and those of the emission of the sceattas, without some tangible means of perpetuating them. These Roman types may, I think, with more probability be regarded as derivations from coins of the later Empire, imitations of which in copper continued to be struck on the sites of Roman occupation even after direct connection with the Roman Empire had ceased in Britain. There is, moreover, reason for seeing some traces of Christian influence in some of the types. As to that of the animal with the large mane, I cannot accept its derivation from the galley on the silver coins of Carausius. If it came from a galley at all, I would rather regard the copper coins of Allectus, which are infinitely more abundant, as the prototypes. The curved lines can, moreover, hardly be oars, however disguised, and the four lines within the curve are far more probably legs than either masts or rowers. Incredible as at first sight it may appear, it is not absolutely impossible that we have in this type a resuscitation of that of the ancient British coins of the Iceni, with a kind of rudely drawn hog upon them. Not only is there a close resemblance in the design, but the metal is the same, as also the weight. The reverse type, with Roman letters upon it, affords, however, strong grounds for treating these coincidences as accidental. This is, however, hardly the place to speculate on the origin of types, and I will only add that, whether we agree with Mr. Keary or no as to the influence of the coins of Carausius on the currency of far later times, his two papers will be found to contain a mass of valuable information on the history both of the peoples and coinages of Western Europe, during a period on which but little light has hitherto been thrown.

Mr. Keary has also communicated to the Society a paper on the Renaissance Medals of Italy, in which he called attention to the wonderful revival of the medallie art in that country under the auspices of Vittore Pisano, a painter and artist of Verona, whose fellow-citizen, Matteo de Pasti, may also claim some share in the honour. In mentioning this paper, I cannot do otherwise than call the attention of members of this Society to a work which has lately been published in Paris, "*Les Médailleurs Italiens des 15^{me} et 16^{me} Siècles*," by M. Alfred Armand, which offers the most complete catalogue of these beautiful medals that has hitherto appeared.

We have, I am happy to say, had during the last session even more than the usual number of papers relating to the coinage of our own country. I have myself had occasion to say a few words with regard to the gold coins struck in late Saxon times, which are, however, so scarce, and so precisely similar to the silver coins of the period, that at present it is safer to regard them as resulting from some freaks of the moneyers, than as being intended for ordinary currency as money.

A notice of what appeared to be an unique farthing of Regnald I. of Northumbria, was communicated to us by Major Creeke, but there appears reason to doubt whether the apparent farthing is not the centre of a penny which has been cut down.

Mr. Webb has furnished us with an exhaustive paper on the early silver coinage of Charles II., in which he has pointed out several peculiarities which appear to have hitherto escaped attention; and Mr. Hoblyn has given us articles on the tin coins of William and Mary, and on the milled Scottish coins from 1637 to 1709. Among these are included some highly interesting pieces bearing the name of James VIII., or the elder Pretender.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick has continued his Notes towards a Metallic History of Scotland, giving in one paper an account of the principal medals of the sovereigns of Great Britain relating to Scotland, among which are several of great rarity and interest.

In another he treats of the medals relating to the rising of '45, which rival in number those struck on the occasion of Admiral Vernon and Commodore Brown taking Portobello with six ships only—an event which happened about six years previous to Culloden.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick has also published in our Journal some of the curious mint accounts of the coinage of Scotland after the accession of James VI., which contain information which must prove of much interest to the collectors of Scottish coins.

In oriental numismatics we have had but one paper, on some unpublished coins from the collection of the Rev. T. Calvert, by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole. One of these is of especial interest, as testifying to a great inroad made upon Syria and Egypt by one of those Carmathian princes who revolted against the true Moslem faith.

Such is a brief abstract of our proceedings during the past year, which will, I think, suffice to show that our meetings have not been wanting in interest, nor our Journal in valuable contributions to numismatic literature.

There are but few English numismatic works of importance which have appeared during the past year and to which I need call attention. I may, however, mention the Descriptive Catalogue of Swiss Coins in the South Kensington Museum, the work of Mr. R. Stuart Poole.

Another instalment of the Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum has also recently appeared. It relates to the coins of Macedonia, and has been compiled by Mr. Barclay V. Head. As usual, it is amply illustrated by woodcuts, and it likewise contains an important map, showing the range of the currency of the various standards, Babylonian, Græco-Asiatic, Euboic, Persian, and Æginetic. This question of metrology is also ably treated in the introduction, which traces the extension of the different systems over the various districts into which Macedonia may numismatically be divided. To all collectors of the

coins of Macedonia and Pæonia, this catalogue will be indispensable.

I must also mention the work of our veteran foreign member, M. de Sauley, "*l'Histoire numismatique de Henri V et Henri VI, rois d'Angleterre, pendant qu'ils ont régné en France,*" in which a mass of documentary matter is given relative to the mints of the English kings in France. It is to be hoped that at some future time M. de Sauley may turn his attention to the Anglo-Gallic coins of other periods.

There is but one ordinary member of our Society whose death we have to deplore, and whose name must not be omitted from this address.

Mr. John Gray, of Glasgow, was a diligent numismatist and antiquary, whose practical knowledge, especially of the coins of the Scottish series, rendered him a most valuable assistant to those more particularly interested in Scottish numismatics. I believe that the late Mr. Wingate was much indebted to him while forming his magnificent collection of Scottish coins, and that his somewhat premature death has been much regretted by a large circle of friends.

Before concluding, I may take this opportunity of paying a tribute of respect to the memory of Mr. Noel Humphreys, whose death I regret to see announced. Although not a member of this Society, nor at any time a contributor to the "*Numismatic Chronicle*," he did much to popularise our science in his various publications, and his works must, I am sure, often have proved of great assistance, not only to young collectors, but to those better versed in coins.

I must add a few words to record the loss we have sustained in the death of our distinguished foreign member, M. François de Paule Louis Petit de la Saussaye, which took place in the spring of last year. His "*Numismatique de la Gaule Narbon-*

naise," published in 1842, is well known as a standard work, as is also his edition of the "Numismatic Letters of Baron Marchant." His articles in the "Revue Numismatique," on the coins of the Æduans and the Volcæ Tectosages, showed how deeply he had studied the Gaulish coinage. M. de la Saussaye was also a conchologist of note, and the author of local guides to the Château de Chambord, Blois, &c. His latest work was, I believe, an essay on "Les six premiers siècles de la ville de Lyon," published in 1876.

I have now only to thank you for the attention with which you have listened to these hastily written remarks, and to express a hope that at the conclusion of the year upon which we are now entering we may look back upon a session even more fertile in results than that which is now closed.

The Treasurer's Report is appended :—

The meeting then proceeded to ballot for the Council and officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected :—

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OF LONDON.

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

NEW COINS FROM BACTRIA.

A FEW months ago, as Mr. Alexander Grant, Director of Indian State Railways, informs us, there was discovered in Bokhara a large hoard of gold and silver coins. The spot is indicated by Mr. Grant as "eight marches beyond the Oxus, at an old fort, on the tongue of land formed by two joining rivers." This find consisted chiefly of the money of early princes of the Seleucid dynasty; but mixed with these were others of the same period. From this source are derived most of the coins I am about to describe.

I.—ANDRAGORAS.

Obv.—Bust of Zeus(?) to right, wearing tænia; behind, .

Rev.—**ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡ**. Warrior to right in quadriga; Nike drives the quadriga; horses horned.

N. .7. Wt. 131·9.

(Brit. Mus., Pl. I., No. 1.)

This interesting coin is not unique, one specimen being in the possession of Mr. Grant, and one in that of General Cunningham. The latter specimen, of which I have seen a rubbing, reads —**ΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ**, and in the field of the reverse are three small points (···). Between the two

coins we can restore in full the name **ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ**. But before turning to history to see what account she affords of the prince who struck this coin, we may briefly consider its types.

I have called the head of the obverse that of Zeus, but without full confidence. The oriental character of the treatment of hair and beard is not to be mistaken. If we are to see here a representation of the great deity of the Hellenes, it must be confessed that he has been considerably modified, taking on probably the nature of Baal or of Ormazd. The nearest approach which I can discover in the range of Greek numismatics to this head is to be found in the head of Zeus on certain tetradrachms of Alexander I. of Syria, on the reverse of which is a thunderbolt.¹ In the band which confines the hair of the head on our coin, I see the *tænia* of the gods rather than the diadema of kings. The hair itself is arranged in a strange and unique manner in tiers or rows of locks, bringing to our minds the idea of Assyrian rather than Greek art. Round the neck is a *chlamys*.

The chariot-group of the reverse gives a clue to the date of our coin. One is reminded of the chariot on the coins of Seleucus, drawn by four horned elephants, as this is by four horned horses. These horns are especially noteworthy. The helmet of Seleucus is horned, so is the horse, and so is the elephant of his coins. Alexander the Great is horned; so is Demetrius, and Arsinoë of Egypt; but one could scarcely find horns thus attributed more than a century after Alexander's death. Nike, too, is far more prominent on the money of the two first Seleucid princes than on that of their successors. All these circumstances

¹ "Cat. Gr. Coins, Seleucidæ," pl. xvi. 1.

seem to indicate that Andragoras must have been a contemporary of Seleucus, or of his successors, Antiochus I. or II. of Syria; that is, he must have ruled during the earlier part of the third century B.C. This view will be strongly confirmed when we come to detail the other coins from the Oxus Find.

The name of Andragoras occurs in no ancient writer but Justin. He mentions two generals of that name. The first was appointed by Alexander the Great satrap of Parthia. "Parthis² deinde domitis præfectus his statutur ex nobilibus Persarum Andragoras: inde postea originem Parthorum reges habuere." The second was slain by Arsaces, founder of the Parthian empire. "(Arsaces)³ cum prædonum manu Parthos ingressus præfectum eorum Andragoran oppressit, sublatoque eo imperium gentis invasit." As the space from Alexander to Arsaces is about eighty years, it is clear that these two passages cannot refer to the same person. But one person may have been the son or grandson of the other. Droysen,⁴ indeed, maintains that the first passage is based on nothing but a confusion, remarking firstly that Andragoras is not a Persian name, and secondly that the Parthian kings certainly did not claim descent from any Greek satrap. I am in this case, however, somewhat disinclined to agree with the distinguished historian. We may perhaps venture to interpret the passage in a somewhat novel manner. May it not be that Andragoras was a semi-independent ruler of Parthia, and that his descendants held the country as rulers (though scarcely reges) until the time of the Andragoras slain by Arsaces? It is more than probable that in many parts of the far

² Justin, xii. 4.

³ Justin, xli. 4.

⁴ "Hellenismus," iii. 360.

East dynasties of which we know little or nothing ruled, attributing scarcely more than a nominal supremacy to the Seleucidæ of Antioch and Seleuciâ. This reading seems not impossible, but we must not hastily accept it, the rather because other writers entirely contradict the statements of Justin. Thus Arrian says that Alexander confirmed the Persian satrap Autophradates in the government of Parthia; while the name of the ruler slain by Arsaces is given as Agathocles by the Syncellus on Arrian's authority, and as Pherecles by Photius, who also professes to be quoting Arrian. It is, of course, impossible after all these ages to decide between these various authorities on literary evidence. Such disputes are often best solved by an appeal to monuments, an appeal which has fortunately become possible in this case also. With their help, I think the evidence quite sufficient to show that at intervals between B.C. 330 and 250 princes named Andragoras were supreme in Parthia. One of these must have issued our coin; and whichever it was, it is certain that when he issued it he must have considered himself an entirely independent prince, for the minting of gold money was the sign, in ancient times, of a claim to complete freedom.

II.—A PERSEPOLITAN KING.

1. *Obv.*—𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎠. Bust of a king to right, in Persian tiara, with moustache and pointed beard.

Rev.—𐎠𐎡𐎧𐎠. King to right in quadriga.

N. .75. Wt. 135.9.

(Brit. Mus., Pl. I., No. 2.)

2. *Obv.*—𐎠𐎡. Head of Pallas to right.

Rev.—**У** **477** **У** **Н7**. Nike to left, as on the coins of Alexander the Great.

N. 8. Wt. 132·9.

(Brit. Mus., from Payne Knight, Pl. I., No. 3.)

I believe No. 1 to be the first gold coin yet discovered of the class formerly called sub-Parthian, and since attributed by Mr. Thomas to Armenia, by Dr. Blau to the Pyrethi of Elymaïs, and by Dr. Mordtmann to the Kings of Persepolis during the Macedonian and Parthian periods. Of these coins the fire-altar is the usual type.⁵ No. 2 is a copy of the staters of Alexander, issued, as we shall see, by the same prince who appears on the obverse of No. 1.

Without professing to be an Aramaic scholar, I have attempted to decipher the legends of these coins, and would ask the indulgence of those more learned than myself if I have not read them rightly. The characters are almost identical with those on the coins of Pharnabazus and Tiridates, the Satraps of the King of Persia. I read as follows⁶ :—

⁵ For engravings see "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. vii. p. 237 sqq.

⁶ The letter **7** begins the name of Pharnabazus (De Luynes, pl. i.), and so must be equivalent to **P** or **PH**. **4** is **D** or **R**, which letters can scarcely be distinguished (Waddington, "Mélanges," i. p. 66). **Λ** is **I** on the coins of Tiribazus (De Luynes, pl. i.). **У**, for **B**, occurs constantly on the coins of Tarsus. **H** is **KH** on the money of several coins of Cilicia. That it may have been used to represent the weaker aspirate **H** appears from a comparison of the money of the Sassanian kings, where it is used (in its later form) in such names as Varahran and Shahpur. Only **У** remains, which seems to be a slightly modified form of the primitive **W** (our **S**), and is used on Persian seals during the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. (F. Lenormant, "l'Alphabet Phénicien," i. pl. ix.). The word *pada* seems to be Persian, and is translated by Vullers "qui servat, custos," or, as a secondary meaning, "magnus, potens, *quasi* fulcrum." The "i" is the connective vowel (cf. Padishah).

1. *Obv.*—**P D I P D**, Pad-i-Pada, "Lord of lords."

Rev.—**P H S P**, Phahaspes(?).

2. *Obv.*—**H** Meaning doubtful.

Rev.—**P H S P P D**
B, Phahaspes(?) Pada.

Whether this reading be or be not in all points correct, I think it certain that the letters **P D** must represent a title, and **P H S P** a name, from their respective positions on the two coins. *Pha*, it will be observed, is an ordinary beginning, and —*aspes* an ordinary ending for Persian names; such, for instance, as Hystaspes, Hydaspes, Tyriaspes. But I find no mention of any Phahaspes in the historians.

I have already mentioned that there is much difference of opinion among experts as to the region where the class of coins to which our stater belongs was issued. In the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik" of 1877, Dr. Mordtmann attributes them to the semi-independent Kings of Persia during Macedonian and Persian times, and even ventures to give a long list of princes whose names he professes to find in the very obscure and ambiguous legends which occur on them. Dr. Blau controverts these views in the "Numismatische Zeitschrift" for 1877. He maintains that the coins were issued by the Pyraëthi, who were a class of Magi dominant in the district of Susiana or Elymaïs,⁷ the only district which was entirely independent of Greek rulers in the age of the Diadochi. Hence the prevailing type of the class, a fire-altar. In the "Numismatische Zeitschrift" for 1878 Dr. Mordtmann replies,

⁷ The passage on which this writer specially relies is Strabo, xv. p. 793.

maintaining his original view with great vigour and success. He endeavours to establish five points:—

1. That the Semitic portion of the people of the province of Khuzistan (Elymaïs or Susiana), that is the Elymæi proper, had no fixed abode, but were nomads and robbers, and as such frequently moved from place to place. So they were not likely to have mints.

2. That the Elymæi were only independent for about twenty years, B.C. 164—144, from the death of Antiochus IV. to the time of the Parthian Mithradates; they were not independent immediately after the death of Alexander. For it is certain that the Seleucidæ appointed Satraps of Elymaïs; and Antiochus III. and IV. penetrated unresisted to Susa, and even there were not resisted until they made attempts on the temple treasures.

3. That in the time of Pompeius they were again independent for a short period; but only in consequence of the internal dissensions of the Arsacidæ.

4. That the great buildings of Susa, the royal palaces and the temples of Anaïtis and Mithras, were built by the Achæmenidæ, and not by the Elymæi or their priests.

5. That we know next to nothing of the religion and cultus of the Elymæi in the time of the Achæmenidæ and later; Pyræthi and Pyræthia belong to the distant Cappadocia; finally, Ormazd is no Elymaic deity.

Without committing ourselves to all the statements of Dr. Mordtmann, we may safely assume that his theory is the sounder one. Two passages of ancient writers prove that the people and rulers of Persis were at least semi-independent in the times following Alexander's death. The first is from Strabo⁸:—"νῦν δ' ἡδὴ καθ' αὐτοὺς συνεστῶτες

⁸ xv. 3, 24.

οἱ Πέρσαι βασιλέας ἔχουσιν, ὑπηκόους ἐτέροις βασιλεῦσι, πρότερον μὲν Μακεδόσι, νῦν δὲ Παρθυαίοις.” The second is from Pliny⁹:—“Naumachæorum promontorium contra Carmaniam distat **L** mil. p.; mira res ibi traditur, Numenium ab Antiocho rege Mesenæ præpositum ibi vicisse eodem die classe æstuque reverso iterum equitatu contra Persas dimicantem, et gemina trophæa eodem in loco Jovi ac Neptuno statuisse.” Hence it is clear that in Seleucid times, and those not of the latest—since certainly after Antiochus III. the Seleucid power did not stretch along the Persian Gulf—the Persians were ruled by kings of their own, kings by no means satraps, even if not quite autonomous.

In my opinion the nature of the peculiar headdress worn by the ruler on the obverse of our coin and the rest would be almost in itself enough to prove him Persian: for its exact counterpart appears on the heads of Darius and all the Persian generals and grandees in the splendid mosaic picture of the battle of Arbela¹⁰ (or Issus) found at Pompeii, the details of which are no doubt taken from older works, very likely works of the age of Alexander himself. A very similar headdress occurs in the sculptures of Persepolis. On the reverse is the King in his chariot, a type of considerable rarity, which would seem to be taken from the coinage of Sidon, of which M. Six has lately treated in these pages. The attitude of the horses, who gallop in step, and the position of the chariot-wheel is the same in the coins of Andragoras and Phahaspes.

Various circumstances help us in endeavouring to fix

⁹ “Hist. Nat.,” vi. 152. Which Antiochus is meant is uncertain.

¹⁰ Museo Borbonico, viii. pl. 36.

the date of King Phahaspes. The details of his chariot (No. 1) seem to indicate that he was a contemporary of Andragoras, and so of Seleucus or Antiochus I. Nor is it likely that, had he lived later, he would have closely copied in some coins (as in our No. 2) the gold staters of Alexander the Great. Tetradrachms bearing the name of Alexander were issued in Ionia as late as the second century B.C., but I am not aware that any one has supposed the gold staters of Alexander to have been minted for very long (say more than half a century) after his death. The latest dated coin of Ace of this class was minted in B.C. 287, and M. Six¹¹ places all the rest of the Phœnician gold staters before the year 281, by which year the issue in other countries had long come to an end.

With regard to other coins in the Oxus Find I have been unable to gain much definite information. I believe that it was very extensive, and comprised a number of rare coins, both in gold and silver.

Among the gold may be mentioned :—

A double-daric, monogram $\overline{\text{M}}^{\text{P}}$.

Gold staters of Antiochus I.;¹² type, seated Apollo, monogram $\textcircled{\Delta}$, or $\textcircled{\Delta}$ and $\overline{\text{A}}$.

Two or three gold staters of Antiochus II.; type, horned horse's head; in field, Δ .

Gold staters of Antiochus Hierax;¹³ type, seated Apollo, monogram † and star and lyre, or Δ .

A double stater issued by Seleucus, bearing the types of Alexander the Great.

Among the silver :—

Tetradrachms of Antiochus I.;¹⁴ type, horned head of

¹¹ "Num. Chron.," N.S., xvii. p. 240.

¹² "Cat. Gr. Coins, Seleucidæ," pl. xxviii., 1 a. ¹³ L. c., 1 b.

¹⁴ "Cat. Gr. Coins, Seleucidæ," pl. xxviii., 1 c.

horse, monogram Ⓐ. Mr. A. Grant has a specimen with the letters **ABIA** on the reverse.

Probably tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, and imitations of the coins of Athens.¹⁵ One such copy, which is of a somewhat barbarous character, weighs gr. 107·7. (Pl. I. No. 7).

Also the three coins about to be described :—

ANTIOCHUS I.

Obv.—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ—

Rev.—**ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ**. Chariot drawn by four horned
ANTIOXΟΥ
elephants; in it Pallas to right, fighting;
above, Ⓐ.

R. 9. Wt. 212·6.

(Brit. Mus., Pl. I., No. 4.)

This coin would appear, from the weight, to be plated. Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent have or had another, also plated. The interest of the piece of course centres in the legend, which is very peculiar. The meaning which one would naturally attach to it is that the coin was issued while Seleucus was king by his son Antiochus, who was viceroy of the eastern provinces of the empire. The type, belonging to Seleucus rather than his son, would tend to support this view. But it would be hard to find a parallel instance in pre-Roman times; for Dr. von Sallet has rendered it probable that the well-known Bactrian coins which bear the names of two kings, that of Agathocles in particular in conjunction with those of

¹⁵ These coins seem to have been current far to the east of Arabia (see Mr. Head's paper in the "Num. Chron." for 1878, p. 273; also Pl. I., No. 7).

Antiochus, Euthydemus, and Diodotus severally, were issued by Agathocles, not as satrap of, but as claiming descent from the other three, and only appeared after the death of the latter. Others would perhaps prefer to see in the word **ANTIOXOY** a patronymic, Seleucus's father having been really named Antiochus, in which case the legend from the coins of Epirus, **ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ**, might be quoted as parallel.

Obv.—Head of Antiochus I. to right, diad.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY.** Horned horse's head to right, bridled; in front, (Δ).

Æ. 65. Wt. 59.4.

(Brit. Mus., Pl. I., No. 5.)

ANTIOCHUS II.

Obv.—Head of Antiochus II. to right, diad.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY.** Horned horse's head to right, bridled; in front, (Δ).

Æ. 6. Wt. 63.6.

(Brit. Mus., Pl. I., No. 6.)

The type of the horned horse's head seems to have been used only in the far East. This is somewhat in favour of the supposition that it belongs to Bucephalus, in whose honour, as is well known, Alexander founded the city of Bucephala, on the banks of the Indus. Seleucus's own horse, who once saved his life, had a statue at Babylon, but probably was never heard of in Cabul. It is, however, noteworthy that all the animals associated with Seleucus are horned; and perhaps still more to the purpose, as we are considering the far East, that, as above

remarked, the chariot-horses of Andragoras are also horned.

It is very noteworthy that the mint-marks of almost all the coins which can be traced to the Oxus Find have a Δ in them. They are Δ , Δ , Δ , Δ , and so forth. I do not find them in General Cunningham's plate. If I may venture to make a conjecture in a matter of so great difficulty, I would suggest that these monograms and letters may indicate the mint of Dionysopolis or Nysa, a city of the Paropamisus, identified by General Cunningham with the modern Begram, near Cabul. This district was for long the chief seat and stronghold of Greek power in the far East. General Cunningham gives as the later mint-monogram of the city Δ .

PERCY GARDNER.

II.

RARE OR UNPUBLISHED JEWISH COINS.

I. HALF-SHEKEL OF THE YEAR 4.—II. COINS OF SIMON BARCOCHAB.—III. COIN OF HEROD ANTIPAS.—IV. COINS OF AGRIPPA I. AND II.

WHEN I completed my "Supplement" to the "Jewish Coinage," I resolved that I would not, in any case for some time, write any more on this subject. Some unique and rare coins having, however, come from M. Hoffmann into the possession of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, who has kindly placed them at my disposal for publication in the Numismatic Chronicle, I cannot resist the temptation of making them known to numismatists. In so doing, I also take the opportunity of publishing a few other novelties, and of remarking upon some articles that have either been published or have come to my knowledge since I concluded my work.

I. HALF-SHEKEL OF THE YEAR 4.

Obv.—חצי השקל, "half-shekel." A cup or chalice ornamented with beads; above, the letters שד (for שנת"ד), "Year 4."

Rev.—[ירושלים] הקדושה, "Jerusalem the Holy." A triple lily. R.

(Coll. of Rev. S. S. Lewis.)

This piece is plated. It will be remembered that Mr. Reichardt has in his cabinet a *plated* shekel of the same year, as well as a pure silver one.¹

To what period to attribute this half-shekel, as well as the shekels and their halves already known, is really quite a puzzle. Even the editors of the Numismatic Chronicle seem to have become a little perplexed, for in one review of a paper of Dr. Merzbacher's, in which he asserts the Maccabæan origin of these pieces as against De Saulcy's attribution to the time of Ezra,² his arguments in favour of the old attribution are said "not to seem to be convincing,"³ whilst in another review of an article by the same author on the same subject⁴ the hope is expressed that "this article will perhaps settle the much-contested point as to the date of this interesting series of coins;"⁵ and De Saulcy's staunch ally, M. F. Lenormant, who at one time did not hesitate to adopt De Saulcy's new opinion, and who spoke of the attribution of these pieces to Simon Maccabæus as "*vainement défendue par Monseigneur Cavedoni, le Docteur Levy et M. Madden*,"⁶ has now deserted his colleague, and assigns these pieces, without a word of explanation and without reserve, to Simon, Prince of the Jews.⁷

¹ Madden, "Jewish Coinage," p. 45.

² "Judische Sekel" in the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," vol. iii. p. 141, Berlin, 1875.

³ "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1876, vol. xvi. p. 71.

⁴ "Ueber das Alter der Sekel" in the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," vol. v. p. 151, Berlin, 1877.

⁵ "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1878, vol. xviii. p. 82.

⁶ "Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'Ancien Monde," vol. i. p. 186, Paris, 1872; Madden, "Supplement to Jewish Coinage" in "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1874, vol. xiv. p. 285.

⁷ "La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité," vol. ii. pp. 28, 29, 155, Paris, 1878.

Numismatists and readers of the Numismatic Chronicle will remember how I have struggled to maintain this latter attribution, and also that, in laying before English readers De Saulcy's novel attribution to Ezra, I expressed the opinion that the question would still remain "a vexed one," though I considered the new classification of De Saulcy's of greater value than his previous one to the high-priest Jaddua.

I notice that M. Six is also in favour of the attribution of these pieces to Simon Maccabæus,⁸ and the second of Dr. Merzbacher's papers (already referred to) really does seem to give as convincing proof of the correctness of this assignment as can be expected without direct or positive evidence.

II. COINS OF SIMON BAR-COCHAB.

1. *Obv.*—שִׁמְעוֹן (for שִׁמְעוֹן, "Simon") on right side of tetrastyle temple; on left the letters **Τ**. **ΦΛΑΥΙ.ΟΥ**...; above, a star.

Rev.—יְרוּשָׁלַם [לְחֻרּוֹת], "The deliverance of Jerusalem." *Ethrog* and *Lulab*. **Α**. (with a hole through it).

(Coll. of Rev. S. S. Lewis; cf. Madden, "Jewish Coinage," p. 170, No. 7; "Supplement" in "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1875, vol. xv. p. 326, No. 12.)

2. *Obv.*—שִׁמְעוֹן, "Simon," within a wreath, with traces of **CAESAR** outside.

Rev.—יְרוּשָׁלַם לְחֻרּוֹת, "The deliverance of Jerusalem." A pitcher and palm-branch. **Α**.

(Coll. of Rev. S. S. Lewis; cf. Madden, "Jewish Coinage," pp. 167, No. 1, 204, No. 1; "Supplement" in "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1875, vol. xv. pp. 321, 322, Nos. 1—4.)

⁸ "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1877, vol. xvii. p. 238.

These two coins belong to the second revolt of the Jews under Simon Bar-cohab (A.D. 132—A.D. 135).

The first appears to be re-struck on a tetradrachm of Antioch, having on one side the head of Vespasian and on the other the head of Titus—ΦΛΑΥΙ. ΟΥΕΣΠ. ΚΑΙΣ.;⁹ the second on a *denarius*, and probably of Titus.

In a recent number of the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik,"¹⁰ Dr. Von Sallet has written a paper "On the Silver Coins of Bar-cohab," being an experiment to prove that the Jewish insurrection coins of the size of the *denarius* were all coined under this Jewish leader. He publishes two coins, of which the following is a description:—

1. *Obv.*—שמועון, "Simon." Cluster of grapes. Under the grapes traces of . . **NVS**.

Rev.—שב לחר ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Palm-branch. **Α**.

(Berlin Museum; cf. Madden, "Jewish Coinage," p. 168, No. 8; "Supplement" in "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1875, vol. xv. p. 324, Nos. 9, 10.)

2. *Obv.*—ש[מ]עון, "Simon." Cluster of grapes.

Rev.—(sic) ש[ב] לח[ר] ישראל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Palm-branch, with traces of the inscription, . . **PAIAN CEB. ΓΕΡ**. **Α**.

(Coll. of Dr. Sepp, of Munich; cf. Madden, *loc. cit.*; Merzbacher, in "Zeitschrift für Num.," vol. iv. p. 354, No. 100^{bis}, Berlin, 1877.)

The first piece with . . **NVS** can only have been coined under Vespasian, or under a later emperor whose name ends with those letters; the second is restruck on one of the drachms of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, under Trajan.

⁹ Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. iii., p. 288, Nos. 8, 10.

¹⁰ Vol. v. p. 110, Berlin, 1877.

There is, of course, no doubt that these may also be assigned to the Second Revolt.

“It was never doubtful,” says Dr. von Sallet,¹¹ “to my numismatic eye that De Saulcy’s view is right, that in spite of all counter-arguments, in spite of the extraordinary coincidence of the names of the priests Eleazar and Simon, whose names are on some of these coins, with those of two celebrated party leaders of the first insurrection, whilst an Eleazar at the time of Bar-cohab (whose name was, as is known and as the coins prove, ‘Simon’) may with more difficulty be proved as coiner—all these coins resembling the *denarius* (and also the tetradrachms) must indisputably belong to one period. It is unexampled and impossible in the numismatics of antiquity that coins which fully resemble each other in style, and are so like each other that they could be mistaken one for the other, should have a space of sixty years between them;” and again,¹² “I am of opinion that these coins are followed by the whole class of coins. How to explain Eleazar, who coined together with Simon, is a matter for special inquirers. That Bar-cohab was called ‘Simon’ we only know from coins which are partly coined on *denarii* of Trajan, and which surely only belong to Bar-cohab, whilst from the first insurrection several party-leaders with the name of ‘Simon’ are known to us; in the same way has the name Eleazar been repeated at the time of Bar-cohab, and we are, therefore, not obliged to place the Eleazar-Simon *denarii* in the First Revolt; even De Saulcy has already mentioned the existence of an Eleazar, in which we can recognise the priest Eleazar who coined under Bar-cohab.”

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

I am not myself prepared to admit that Dr. von Sallet in this paper has *proved* his case. Whether he is right or not is another question, and this I do not propose to answer, but leave the readers of my "Supplement" to judge for themselves. I must, however, remark that the coins that Dr. von Sallet gives to Bar-cohab were restored by me to this leader in a paper written so long since as 1866,¹³ and that the same view is upheld in my "Supplement," though the reader of Von Sallet's paper would imagine that nothing had been written on this particular subject since the appearance of my "Jewish Coinage" in 1864.

To finally settle that all the coins of the *denarius* size of the Jewish insurrection belong to the period of the Second Revolt, *a restruct coin with the legend לנאלת ישראל* ("The redemption of Israel") *must be discovered*, and till now not one single specimen has ever come to light.¹⁴

The strongest argument in favour of the attribution of all these *denarii* coins to one period is the appearance of similar coins having a space of sixty years between them,

¹³ "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 36.

¹⁴ "Supplement" in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1875, vol. xv. p. 311. De Saulcy has recently published ("Mélanges de Num.," Jan.—April, 1877, p. 85) the description of some new Jewish coins, including pieces of Alexander Jannæus, of Eleazar, and of Simon Bar-cohab. Several of these latter show traces of recoinage; *not one of them has the legend לנאלת ישראל*. With respect to the legend שמע, which appears on some of the coins of the Second Revolt, and which has hitherto been taken to represent the abbreviated name of "Simon," De Saulcy prefers to read the first letters of the word *Schemâa*, the prayer commencing "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah is our God," &c., and prescribed by the Talmud to be said night and morning by every Israelite, since there was no reason for thus abbreviating the name *Schemaoun*, as there is plenty of room on the coins to have inserted the wanting letters *vau* and *nun*—a suggestion on which I do not feel competent to give any opinion.

an argument that has already been used by De Saulcy;¹⁵ but on this point I have observed¹⁶ that the "remarks would be of great value if he was speaking of a settled government where art flourished, but seems hardly applicable to the Jews in their disturbed state, and the insurgents in the Second Revolt would therefore be glad to make use of the old dies, which it is possible may have been preserved during the sixty-five intermediate years."

III. COIN OF HEROD ANTIPAS.

Obv.—**HPΩΔHC TETPAPXHC**. A fig-tree or an orange-tree laden with fruit; to left, **ETO.**; to right, **ΜΓ** (43).

Rev.—**ΓΑΙΩ - ΚΑΙΣΑ - ΓΕΡΜΑ - ΝΙΚΩ** in four lines within a laurel-wreath. **Æ**.

(Formerly in cab. of Count Prokesch-Osten; now in Berlin Museum.)

This piece is published by De Saulcy.¹⁷ It differs in the type of the obverse from other pieces of Herod Antipas, and in having the year marked by the word **ETO.** instead of the letter **L**.

It was issued in A.D. 39—40, the last year but one of the reign of Antipas, his banishment taking place shortly after April, A.D. 40.¹⁸

In remarking upon this coin, De Saulcy takes occasion to state that it has been mathematically proved that King Herod, the father of Antipas, died in the spring of B.C. 4,

¹⁵ "Rev. Num.," 1864, vol. ix. p. 26; 1865, vol. x. p. 6, *tirages à part*.

¹⁶ "Supplement" in "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1875, vol. xv. p. 310.

¹⁷ "Mélanges de Num.," Jan.—April, 1877, p. 92.

¹⁸ Madden, "Supplement" in "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1875, vol. xv. pp. 47, 57.

adding "dès lors aussi il est également démontré que le Christ n'a pu naître du vivant d'Hérode le Grand;" a statement of some novelty, but one that can hardly be discussed in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle.

IV. COINS OF AGRIPPA I. AND II.

I have only recently discovered that Prof. Mommsen in 1871 wrote a short paper on the coins of these Jewish princes.¹⁹ This should, therefore, be added to the list of works in the appendix to my "Supplement."

The first portion relates to the interpretation of the rare and curious coin of Agrippa I. struck under Claudius, of the legend on which four interpretations are given by me in my "Supplement."²⁰ To these may now be added a fifth, that of Prof. Mommsen, who writes as follows:—

"Herr Reichardt reads the inscription in the following manner:—

// "ΑΒΑΞ · ΑΓ // ΠΑ // ΚΛΗΤΟΝ
// ΗΜ · ΡΩΜΑΙΩ · Κ · ΕΥΜ · ΙΧ · ΑΥ

"The beginning of the two lines of inscription written in a circle are unrecognisable; accordingly it became probable to me that on this coin stood—

[Φιλ]ία Βασ(ιλέως) Ἀγ[ρί]πα [πρὸς τὴν σὺν]κλητον
[καὶ τὸν δ]ῆμ(ον) Ρωμαίω(ν) κ(αὶ) συμ(μαχία),

and the contemplation of the impression which is kept in the Cabinet of Coins of this place seemed to be favourable to this reading. I see over the countermark traces of the

¹⁹ "Zu den Münzen Agrippas I. und II." in the "Numismatische Zeitschrift," vol. iii. p. 449, Wien, 1872.

²⁰ "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1875, vol. xv. p. 73.

letters **ΦΙ**, and there is the space for the **Λ** before the **Ι**, of which there are traces, and the **Α**, which is quite readable. With regard to the number of letters that are afterwards supplied, we have to consider that the inscription is written in an abbreviated form; thus *πρὸς τὴν* is expressed by **ΠΤ**; **ΕΥΜ** certainly follows; . . . the strange **ΕΥΛΛΟΧΙ** is contrary to the appearance on the coin; but in **ΕΥΜ** we have probably *συμμαχία*. The two joined hands leave no doubt that the inscription concerns the treaty of the King Agrippa with the Roman nation or his reception among the *reges socii et amici Senatus populique Romani*, and for this the technic Greek expression is *φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος τοῦ δήμου* (Dio., 39, 12; 53, 25; 59, 24; Strab., 12, 2, 11, p. 540). Of the four following letters (**ΧΙ · ΑΥ**, according to Mionnet; **ΧΙ · ΑΥ**, according to Reichardt), the third is certainly an **Λ**, the fourth seemed to me to be rather **Ψ** than **Υ**. What is concealed in this abridgment I do not know."

Nor do I suppose that any one will know the true reading on this piece till a better-preserved specimen has been discovered.

The second portion of Prof. Mommsen's paper is taken up with an examination of the dates on the coins of Agrippa II., with special reference to the way that they are arranged in my "Jewish Coinage." As to the curious coins with double date **ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ͵Ϟ** (or **Ϡ**)—year 11, which is also 6—he is of opinion that the **ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ͵Ϟ** (6) may be referred to the sixth year of Agrippa II., dating from the era commencing in A.D. 61, and therefore that it is equivalent to A.D. 66. For the other date, he supposes that it may be reckoned from an unknown era commencing in A.D. 56, in which year he suggests that the change of name from Cæsarea to Neronias may have

taken place, and therefore that the **ETOVC AI** (11) is also equivalent to A.D. 66.

For the years 26, 27, and 29 of Vespasian and Titus, he understands, as already Eckhel had done, that the coins on which these dates appear must have been coined *after Vespasian's death*. "In fact," he writes, "he who could in the year 87 entitle Domitian Δομειανὸς Καῖσαρ, could conveniently place *divus Vespasianus* from heaven again upon earth."

As the system of the dates on the coins of Agrippa II. has been fully revised and developed in my "Supplement," there is no occasion to further allude here to Prof. Mommsen's paper; suffice it to say that I have not therein selected either of these proposed classifications.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

November, 1878.

III.

THE COINAGES OF WESTERN EUROPE: FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE TO THE ACCESSION OF CHARLEMAGNE.

IV.—THE GROWTH OF A SILVER CURRENCY IN EUROPE AND THE EARLIEST COINAGE OF ENGLAND.

WHEN we have ended with the money of Lombardy and Beneventum we have disposed of the last of those gold coinages which mark the transition era between Honorius and Charlemagne: remains only to speak of the rise of the silver currency which in continental Europe accompanies the rise of the house of Charles, and the causes which led to the substitution of a coinage in this metal for the former currency in gold. The change which was brought about by the substitution of the new silver coins, the *novi denarii* of Pepin and Charles, for the *solidi* and *tremisses* of the Merovingian era amounts to a revolution in the numismatic history of this age. At the beginning of the eighth century a coinage in gold is in almost every country of Europe the prevailing or the sole currency; in a little more than a hundred years gold coins have almost totally disappeared from these same lands. The inquiry into the causes of this sweeping change has the more interest for us because it touches upon a subject which we have not as yet been led to touch upon, the first coinage of England. That Gordian knot of early English numismatics, the *secatta* question, necessarily

presents itself before us. I have no hope of removing all the difficulties in which it is involved, but I may be able to bring some small aid towards its solution.

Concerning the change effected by Pepin and Charles we must unquestionably connect it, as we are naturally disposed to do, with those political causes which contributed to the rise of the house of Heristal—that is to say, to an inrush of German influence into France amounting, we might almost say, to a second German invasion of Gaul. In himself, in his character, and in the government which he established, and in those wider schemes of policy which he proposed to establish, Charles was eminently a civiliser, a Romaniser; he contributed greatly, in the long-run, to the civilisation of Europe by bringing so much new German blood within the influence of strict laws and culture. But it is not the less true that, as regards France alone, the triumph of the Karling house was a relapse toward barbarism: it meant the victory of the great Teutonic landholders of the north and east over the refined *Romans* of the south and west, in a struggle which had been waged with some bitterness and had been long going on.¹ The Romans we have watched regaining more and more their lost importance in the state, and with them rising again the priestly influence and the influence of the great cities of the south: these things being shown numismatically, first, by the reviving fiscality in the king's government; and afterwards by the wide issue which marks the close of the Merovingian era, of independent non-regal coins, struck by townships and by religious bodies. The change then going on might have been continuous, and south-western France have become more com-

¹ Michelet, "Histoire de France," livre ii. ch. ii.

pletely separate from the other division of the territory than it did become, but for the sudden danger which broke upon the whole country from the invasion of the Arabs, and rudely arrested all schemes of internal reform. Then it was, when the power of the Roman clergy gave way before the rough energy of the half-heathen Charles the Hammer,² that the family of Heristal rose to its permanent ascendant.

No diminution of the power of the Church ultimately resulted from the change of masters which France experienced; on the contrary, Christianity for the first time rolled its waters far beyond the Rhine. Its empire soon extended to the Elbe. First of all went out the army of missionaries and martyrs—many of these from our own islands, from England and Ireland—afterwards followed, according to the fashion of that time, the less spiritual arms of the Emperor, bringing conversion or slavery to the Saxons and Thuringians. The citadels of the faith—the great sees of Cologne, Mainz, Worms, Strasburg—were planted along the Rhine, and like advanced posts pushed far into the heart of Germany stood the seven new bishoprics which Charlemagne founded, Bremen, Osnabrück, Minden, Paderborn, Werden, Halberstadt and Hildesheim, and the renowned abbey of Fulda.³ But

² Michelet sees in this name an allusion to the hammer of Donar (Thor), and supposes that Martel was not a Christian ("Histoire de France," livre ii. ch. ii.). The ground for this opinion is not so slender as at first sight it might appear. The devil is called "Master Hammer" in Germany, in confusion with this god, Donar (Wuttke, "Volksaberglaube," p. 37; Grimm, "Deut. Myth.," 951). Nevertheless, one cannot shut one's eyes to the appropriateness of such a name as *hammer* applied in allusion to Charles's military qualities, without reference to his creed.

³ Cf. "Vita S. Sturnii Abb. Fuld" and "Chron. Moissiac." in "Scrip. Rer. Fr."

it was otherwise with the influence of the Romans; *that* did not again revive so long as France continued to be governed by men of the Karling house; only when the western crown was transferred to the head of Hugh Capet did the Celt vindicate once more his right to govern in his own land. The intervening period, the Teutonic era of French kingship, is likewise in a special sense the era of that silver coinage whose beginnings we are about to discuss, in a special sense the age of the denarius.

The Merovingian coinage rises to its height under Dagobert I. (622—638), and then falls to a sort of decline when the regal issue becomes less and less frequent, and the independent coinages increase, showing a tendency in the country to split into a number of small municipal republics such as had prevailed before the coming in of the Franks. All these coinages, whether regal or anonymous, were confined to France: few even or none were issued by the Ripuarians, the Franks of the Rhine border. As suggested in our first part, the coinage of these lands, when they lay upon the penumbra of Roman civilisation, was probably mainly a silver currency, and such it would appear to have continued till the end of Merovingian rule, while the more distant parts of Germany, *e.g.* Saxony, scarcely yet possessed a coinage at all. If, then, the Germans of the border lands still adhered by preference to a coinage of silver, we can easily understand how their influence, when it became permanent, led to the substitution of a currency in the lower metal for the older currency in gold.

But have we any further evidence than reasonable conjecture affords us in support of this theory? And supposing it adopted, can we gain any accurate knowledge of the region along which the silver money was to be found in use? It might be thought that we should have no

difficulty in satisfying ourselves concerning the nature of the currency in every land, for we have a large corpus of the laws of the various Teutonic countries; and as the ground-principle in all these laws is the compensation or fine, here, one would think, in the money spoken of, we have a clear indication of the currency. But there are two difficulties in our way. In the first place, the date of the law is often uncertain; it has generally been revised more than once, and we cannot tell how or when it reached its present form, or how much its earlier provisions have been altered. Secondly, the money mentioned is undoubtedly, in many instances, only a money of account. The solidus is the universal medium in every law. But the solidus continued as a money of account long after the silver denarius of Pepin and Charlemagne had ousted the older coinage of gold; it had the same use even in earlier times in lands such as England, where silver was the chief and almost the only currency. We must reconcile ourselves, therefore, to the fact that the mention of the solidus bears no proof that gold was current in the country which speaks of solidi in its laws. Beside these difficulties, we have a further one in the want of a certain indication of the area over which the authority of any code extended; for a country might well keep its laws after it had been conquered by another, as we know that the laws of Alemania and Bavaria were retained and revised by Merovingian and Carlovingian kings. Or the laws of two peoples which have been fused into one kingdom may still remain apart, as the Salic and Ripuarian codes do even under Charles.

The laws which chiefly concern us are those of Burgundy, Alemania, Bavaria, Old Saxony, and Frisia, and the Ripuarian and Salic codes, for these include France proper, the centre of civilisation north of the Alps, and

the countries which lie around its borders. The first of these codes applied to the old Burgundian kingdom, whose limits have been previously defined as those of the Mediterranean, the Rhone, and the German cantons. There is no appearance that it was in use after the annexation of Burgundy to the kingdom of the Merovingian Franks, and therefore it gives no information for a period later than 533. The laws make no mention of a denarius or of any silver currency, only of the solidus, its half (*semis*), and third (*tremissis*).⁴ All that we can argue from this fact is that the tradition of a silver currency was not preserved unbroken in the south of Gaul. There had been a coinage in silver in the time of the Romans, but it was not continued by their conquerors the Burgundians after they became settled in the land. It is extremely probable that the same rule applied to the Visigoths, the other predecessors of the Merovingians in southern France—between whom and the Burgundians there were so many points of similarity—seeing that the Visigoths of Spain issued no silver coins. The Salic law,⁵ which at first was applicable only to north-western France, but afterwards extended its application over the whole of what is now called France, gives, in every case, the fine in the value both of the solidus and tremissis, and this seems to argue a double currency of gold *and* silver. For had either the gold or the silver money been money of account merely, there could have been no fluctuation in the relative value of the coins; such a fluctuation, making

⁴ "Codex Leg. Ant.," Lindenbrog, ed. 1613, p. 270 sqq. Gundobald did, as we have seen (Part III.) strike some small silver pieces. From their not being mentioned in the code, we may conclude that his attempt to introduce a silver currency was not successful.

⁵ Lindenbrog, *o. c.*, p. 267 sqq.

necessary a double valuation, is possible only where there is a currency in two species. It is reasonable, however, to suppose, after what has been just said about the south of France, that the silver was—at first, at any rate—confined to the northern districts.

On the other side of Burgundy, to the north and east (the country of the Black Forest and the German cantons) lies Alemania, and farther to the east Bavaria. The laws of both these lands give us important pieces of information. In the Alemanian code,⁶ under Tit. vi., after being told that in an action for an amount not exceeding one solidus, the sacramental oath of the plaintiff and one other shall be held sufficient, it continues—

“§ 2. But if the matter in dispute be as much as two *saigas* over the solidus, then the man who brings the action must nominate three persons to take the oath with him, and out of these the defendant (excusator) shall have power to challenge two,” &c.

“§ 3. Now a *saiga* is a fourth part of the tremissis, that is a denarius,” &c.

In these two sentences we have a clear indication that the *saiga* was a characteristic coin of the country for which the law was framed. The code was compiled under Clotaire II. (582—628): from the fact that it enters into an explanation of the word *saiga*, we are inclined to think that it is not a thoroughly Frankish gloss, as numismatists have too freely assumed, the less so as it is only used in the Alemanian and Bavarian laws.

The sentences above quoted form, I believe, the only reference to a silver currency among the Alemanians; but farther east, among the Bavarians,⁷ the mention of the *saiga* is frequent. In Tit. i. we find that it had the same

⁶ Lindenbrog, p. 363 sqq.

⁷ Lindenbrog, p. 400 sqq.

value as in Alemania, and from a rather curious provision in the same title we gather that it was the smallest current coin. If any were accused of depredation upon the property of the Church, he should be required to deny it upon sacramental oath. For one *saiga* he should swear singly, &c. This provision (be it noted), in contrast with that of Tit. vi. § 1 of the Alemanian law, shows the greater security of ecclesiastical than of personal property. The *saiga* then was a current coin of Bavaria: but we have evidence which seems to support the conclusion that here money of any sort was not of universal use, but that the older form of cattle payment had a wide extension. In the first paper of this series I have noticed how, in Ine's laws (the West Saxon king), payment is computed, not only in cattle, but in portions of cattle, the eye, the horn, the tooth, having each its regular value. Such a state of things argues a time not far distant, when all payment was in this cattle specie. Just the same are the provisions made in the Bavarian code. We may then allow ourselves to look upon these two distant points of Europe, Bavaria and Wessex, the one a little before the middle of the seventh century, the other at its end, as just emerging into the use of a regular coinage.

We next come to the land of the Saxons. Here we have tolerably sufficient evidence that up to the middle of the seventh century money was almost unknown, seeing that even their great national tribute to the Frankish king was discharged in cattle payment. Certainly therefore no *solidi* were in use there; yet we find no mention in the Saxon law⁸ of any coin save the *solidus*. This is because the law dates from the time when the new currency of Charles—which, though a coinage of *denarii*,

⁸ Lindenbrog, 474 sqq.

used for computation the *solidus of account*—was in full operation. We must not draw the same conclusion which we drew from the want of any mention of a silver currency in the Burgundian code; because Burgundy we know had a coinage in gold, therefore as no silver is mentioned we argue that its coinage was entirely of gold. Saxony, we know with equal certainty, never had a coinage in the costlier metal; the want of a double valuation or a mention of silver money, if it shows anything, only proves that in Saxony silver was not introduced until the currency had been placed upon a perfectly firm and consistent basis by the legislation of Charles. For the time of which we are speaking, therefore, the beginning of the seventh century, we may put this country outside the pale of the money-using lands.

The Ripuarian code,⁹ which applied to the western neighbours of the Saxons, likewise computes in *solidi* only, and would contain no mention of a silver currency save for the appearance of the word *denarialis* (Tit. lxii.), meaning a hired labourer, one who plied for a penny a day. So here we return to the signs of silver money in use. Lastly the *Lex Frisionum*,¹⁰ which, though it makes no mention of the king in whose reign it was codified, seems in its present shape to date from a time not anterior to Charlemagne, speaks, as the *Salic law* does, of *solidi and denarii*—*denarii novæ monetæ*, there being apparently two sorts of these silver coins (Tit. i.). Elsewhere we find (Tit. xvi., &c.) the old *denarii* estimated by weight; while the new *denarii* are reckoned at one-third of the *solidus*. I cannot satisfactorily explain to myself the high valuation of the *denarius* in Frisia;¹¹ but we can scarcely assume

⁹ Lindenbrog, p. 450 sqq.

¹⁰ Id., p. 490 sqq.

¹¹ Mr. Robertson's valuable "Historical Essays" (p. 49 sqq.,

that the *solidus* mentioned in these laws is the same with that which in the other codes is valued at twelve *denarii*. It was probably only a money of account, while the silver money was quite obviously in currency.

This completes our review of the Teutonic codes of continental Europe. If about the centre of France as a centre we let a line of (say) the breadth of *Alemania* and part of *Bavaria* travel round the map it will describe the portion of an annulus, and this annulus will very approximately cover the region in which, before the time of *Charlemagne*, a silver currency obtained. *Bavaria* is the most eastern land, and we have had evidence that only in a part of *Bavaria* was a currency in use.

The Germans of all this region, the land which lay around the border of the Empire, had possessed a silver currency since early days, since the days when *Tacitus* describes them as accepting only the old and well-known consular *denarii*. While, during the third century, the silver money of Rome had become debased into a copper coinage, thinly overwashed with silver, they showed and with reason the same nicety, and took only Imperial *denarii* of a date not later than the reign of *Nero*, after whose time it had begun to fall in value, and when in 296¹² the money was reformed by *Diocletian*, they once more took the current coin which was struck of the same standard as the *denarius* of *Nero*.¹³ The pure silver money during the intermediate period, as *Mommsen* says, fled from Italy and hid itself in Germany.

There seems, then, evidence of an unbroken continuity

“Early Germanic and Frisian Currency”) should, however, be consulted. He takes this *solidus* to be approximately the same as the English *thryms* (*tremissis*) in silver.

¹² Or 292 A.D. the silver. See *Mommsen*.

¹³ *Mommsen*, ed. *Blacas*, tom. iii. p. 132.

in the silver currency of the Germanic people, along the circle which we traced out ; and this continuity is further indicated by the use of the word *saiga* in the eastern lands, if with Grimm¹⁴ we connect the word with a Gothic verb *saihan*, *to cut* (*secare*), and suppose it to have literally corresponded to the Latin *serra* (*serratus nummus*), the indented Roman coins which Tacitus tells us the Germans made use of (*serratos bigatosque*). It would thus correspond etymologically with the English and Norse words shilling, skilling (Icl. at *skilja*, *to cut*). Robertson¹⁵ speaks of the *saiga* as identical with the early scilling and the silver thryms or *silfur* in use in this country ; but this assertion seems directly contradicted by the sentence *saiga id est denarius*, for even supposing the new karling denarius to be meant, that coin was never equal to the thryms or one-third solidus. I do not myself believe that anything more than the name of the old Roman denarii was preserved in the *saiga* of Germany of the seventh and eighth centuries ; for we have evidence to show that the later silver coins, the *siliquæ* of Theodosius I. and his successors down at any rate to the time of Honorius, were largely coined upon the Rhine, and were imitated by the Germans (see Part I.). On the western side of France (chiefly in the north) on the other hand, and at the Rhine-mouth, a new silver currency came into use which holds no likeness to Imperial denarii or *siliquæ*.

The coins spoken of are the silver pieces very much resembling our Saxon *sceattas* in appearance, which are

¹⁴ "Deut. Gr.," 3rd ed. i. 103. I have been able to discover no other etymology for the word *saiga*. Schmeller and Graff give it in their Bavarian and High German Dictionaries without further information than can be gained from the laws in which the coin is mentioned.

¹⁵ "H. E.," p. 73.

found upon the Continent, especially upon those parts of it which are opposite our shore. The most important finds have been those of Domburg, Terwipsel, Hallum, and Franeker in the Netherlands, which have given occasion to the admirable monograph of M. Dirks, the most competent essay upon the Saxon sceatt which has ever been written. The majority of the coins discovered in the places above mentioned were of English manufacture, but a certain portion bore types which are never found in this country, and which seem to belong to the region of the Rhine mouth, the land of the Ripuarians and Frisians. Some pieces more distinctly of Merovingian types were also found, and this proves that the Merovingian silver pieces passed current with the English sceattas and these small denarii of the Rhine mouth, and that they were not as some have asserted meant to be gilt and pass as tremisses. Merovingian silver coins, called saigas by numismatists, have been found in large numbers as far south as the mouth of the Garonne, and in this case also intermingled with Saxon sceattas.

The characteristic type of the silver pieces of the Rhine mouth is the double triangle or sigillum Davidis, called by M. Dirks the *type d'Herstal*,¹⁶ because upon subsequent coins of Pepin and Charles it is said to recur.¹⁷ It forms some sort of link between the earlier and the later currency. The types of the Merovingian denarii generally closely imitate those of the tremisses, especially of the

¹⁶ See Dirks, "Les Anglo-Saxons et leur sceattas," p. 101 sqq.

¹⁷ Lelewel, "Réappar. du type gaulois." I know of no coins with this figure which can be assigned with certainty to a date earlier than that of Charles the Simple. Charlemagne, as is well known, took the name of David when he became a pupil in the School of Paris, &c., which he founded. These Frisian pieces must, however, be of an earlier date than Charles.

non-regal tremisses which began to be struck so largely at the beginning of the seventh century. Almost all have a diademed bust on the obverse, and on the reverse a cross, either the cross haussée taken direct from the Marseilles type, the cross ancée, or the plain Roman or Greek crosses; or sometimes a chalice, a type, as we have seen, introduced by Dagobert I. But few or none have the Victory type, which was the sole type on Merovingian coins till after 585, and therefore few of these pieces were struck before the end of the sixth century. We have agreed that there is no reason for calling all the Merovingian silver coins by the name of *saigas*, which probably obtained only in the eastern provinces, in Alemania and Bavaria. In the west, I imagine, they would be called *denarii*, and probably these are the *veteres denarii* alluded to in the Frisian code, the *denarii novæ monetæ* being the new coinage of Charles or of his father Pepin. The forty *denarii* which go to a *solidus* may also well have been these old *denarii*. The *siliqua* when it weighed 2·3 grammes had gone at the rate of 24 to the *solidus*; ¹⁸ these coins of 1·3 gramme at 40 to the *solidus* give a valuation not very different ($\frac{1\frac{3}{3} \times \frac{40}{24} = \frac{5\frac{2}{5}}{5\frac{2}{5}}$). It has been shown that the Merovingian silver cannot date back much earlier than the beginning of the seventh century. The great majority of these coins belong probably to the days of the *Rois fainéants*, which begin with the death of Dagobert in 638. They thus correspond with the rise of German influence in the person of the Mayors of the Palace, and with the rise of the Karling house itself. Arnoulf of Metz, the founder of the Heristal family, died in 640.

The annulus which was described upon the map of continental Europe purporting to include those Germanised

¹⁸ Mommsen, iii. 83.

districts in which the traditions of a silver currency had been preserved unbroken, came to an end upon the coasts of Frisia and northern France. Carried on it includes the districts of England which immediately face these coasts. According to the popular version of the conquest of England, indeed, there was no possibility of an unbroken sequence of silver coinage in this country, nor anything to bring us into a relationship of similarity with the Teutonic people of Germany and the Rhine. *These* had preserved their former prejudices in favour of silver money because they had not progressed far from their early homes or their old life. They had not shared in the great movement which took their brethren into the west and to the south, into Spain and Africa and Italy, nor been so deeply stained with that greed of gold which the sight of Roman civilisation awoke in the breasts of Merovingians and Visigoths and Vandals. But the English, according to the popular account, coming in, during the fifth century, from a land where there was no currency, among an alien people, had killed or driven all these away, and without communication with them, or any link to attach themselves to the past history of the island, had started afresh in all their schemes of politics or economy. What we should expect of such a people is that they would copy their coinage from the coinage of their nearest neighbours who possessed one, and as, during the fifth century, the influences which made the Merovingian currency a gold one were still paramount in the West—the Ripuarians and Frisians not having extended their influence far beyond the Rhine—the coinage which we should expect to see arise in England would be in chief part one of gold, copied from the gold coinage of Quentovic, the great Frankish seaport

opposite our coasts. And, whatever currency was in use here, we should expect to see it both in frequency and variety far behind the money of France.

But this is not the case. The English silver coinage is more frequent than the silver money of the Continent, and shows, as we shall see, indications of an origin in times before the rise of a silver currency in western France. The types of the English coins copy neither the silver pieces which at the end of the fourth century were in use upon the Rhine, nor those newer silver coins which in the sixth and seventh centuries began to be current in Frisia and Neustria. Again, there are few or no gold coins mingled with the English silver money. All this seems to point to the fact that the English, like the Germans of the Rhine borders, had kept up the use of silver money from a comparatively remote period, and it will be well to consider whether we are not, before discussing the origin of the sceattas, to revise in some measure the common story of the English conquest of Britain.

I have before me the very able paper by Mr. Howorth, upon the "Migrations of the Saxons,"¹⁹ in which the writer has summed up all the old, and added many fresh arguments, in support of a view of the Saxon invasion opposed to the account given by the oldest English authorities, and opposed by some of the chief living historians of this epoch, but adopted by such weighty writers as Palgrave and Kemble, and upheld, as I cannot but think, by great preponderance of evidence. This view maintains that the Saxon invasion was not of that sudden and violent character which the Chronicle assigns to it, but that a large colony of Saxons had, long before the fifth century, been settled upon the east and south coasts of Britain, upon

¹⁹ "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," vol. vii., p. 293.

that region described in the *Notitia Imperii* as the *littus Saxonicum per Britanniam* or *per Britannias*. The curious philological principles upon which the *littus Saxonicum* has been interpreted to mean the shore visited by the Saxons, is justly scouted by Palgrave, Kemble, Lappenberg, Schaumann, and Dirks: as Palgrave says, it would be an anomalous thing to find a country called after its invaders, and not after its inhabitants. So that we have *prima facie* strong reason for believing in the existence of this Saxon colony in England. Mr. Howorth's argument proceeds along two lines. In the first place he arrays all the evidence in favour of the presence of the Saxons in England from early times; and secondly, he attacks the trustworthiness of the Chronicle. I cannot here reproduce the exhaustive inquiry, and will rather trust that any one who is interested in the question before us will make himself acquainted with this paper if he has not already done so. Two results on these two lines of argument are of special interest: (1) the evidence in favour of a large Saxon settlement on the north-west coast of *France*, the proof of which, resting to a great extent upon the etymology of the local names, has been very ingeniously elaborated by Mr. Isaac Taylor, in his "Words and Places" (p. 138—141); and (2) the mythical character of the early history of Wessex, whose first two kings, mentioned in the Chronicle,²⁰ bear, as Mr. Howorth shows, Welsh and not English names.

It is only, I believe, upon this theory of an early Saxon settlement in this land that the origin of the first English coinage can be satisfactorily explained. M. Dirks adopts it in his monograph on the sceattas; but he does not seem

²⁰ *Cerdic* and *Cynric*. *Cerdic* is Caradoc; *Cynric* means "mountain head" in Welsh.

to me to carry the theory quite to its legitimate conclusion. The locus of the earliest English coins makes for the belief in an early Saxon settlement. The sceatta is not a Northumbrian coin. A few of these pieces are found mingled with the stycas of Northumbria, but as the sceattas were still in existence when the earliest stycas were struck, and as the former do not, save exceptionally, imitate the latter in type, it is highly improbable that the sceatt was in any but an occasional currency in the north, and even then not probably till late in the period of its existence. I believe few sceattas have been discovered north of the Humber or even the Wash. Mr. Hawkins says in the first volume of this Chronicle: "In 1808 five hundred and forty-two stycas, and in 1833 about eight thousand were discovered of Kings of Northumbria and Archbishops of York in regular succession from 808 to 867; and there not one sceatta was to be found. Of Northumbrian kings commencing with Ecgfrith in 670, and including Eadberht, Alchred, Ethelred, &c. &c., down to Eric, who was killed in 950, we have a tolerably complete series of coins, stycas and pennies, but not one sceatta well authenticated or even probably appropriated." This, however, is not strictly accurate, as will be seen hereafter.

The sceatt naturally developes into the penny, from which it differs not much in weight though it does differ in shape and appearance. We have evidence of the early existence of the penny in the districts of Kent (including South Saxony),²¹ Mercia, and East Anglia, that is, for a sort of triangle or quadrant of land resting on the coast from the Wash to the borders of Wessex, *i.e.*, about Southamp-

²¹ For it is a part of the same argument concerning the Saxon invasion that the South, East, and Middle Saxons—of whom we have no coin—never existed in the form of separate kingdoms.

ton Water, and having its apex far inland at the extremity of the Mercian kingdom, say Lichfield. In all this country we can find trace of the sceatt, as will be shown more fully presently. But as for Wessex, we have no coins which we can assign to this country before the time of Egbert (800), that is, long after the substitution of the penny for the sceatt. The earlier coin could scarcely have here grown into the penny if Wessex was so long behind the other countries in using this last coin. Nor is the sceatt mentioned as a coin in the laws of Ine²² (688—728): it is mentioned as a coin in the laws of Ethelberht of Kent (550—616) about a hundred years earlier.²³ In the laws of Ine, it has been noticed, we have traces, as in the Bavarian code, of the still lingering practice of making compensation in cattle payment, values of the horn or eye of a cattle being here computed.²⁴ Had these values been made in the lifetime of Ine, there would be fair evidence for the extension of the cattle-payment into Wessex to the end of the seventh century. But the computations are made in pennies, and as the penny was not coined in Wessex till 800, nor in England at all probably till the middle of the eighth century, I think these computations must have a later date than even the death of Ine in 728. That no money was current in Wessex during this

²² It may be said that the earliest coins of E. Anglia are not much before those of Wessex. It should be remembered, however, that the penny being probably introduced by Offa, the first pennies of Kent and E. Anglia were struck by contemporaries of this king. Not so with Wessex. Moreover, the celebrated coin of Ethelberht of E. Anglia is a direct copy of a well-known sceatt-type.

²³ We must distinguish between the use of "sceatt" in its original vague sense of money (*e.g.* "Laws of Ine," § 61) and its other use as the name of a recognised coin ("Laws of Ethelberht," § 34, 71).

²⁴ "Laws of Ine," § 58.

king's reign I am far from maintaining. We have evidence to the contrary in the blood fine of thirty thousand pounds (weight) paid by the men of Kent for the death of Ine's brother Mull.²⁵ This fine was paid in money which would become current. In fact, whenever the lawgiver steps in, a currency comes in with him. But there is evidence sufficient to show that the first sceattas were not struck in Wessex—in fact, that they were known for a hundred years in Kent before they extended beyond the Southampton Water. Now it is just over the coast region between the Wash and the Southampton Water, and probably some way inland, that the colony of the *littus Saxonicum* is supposed to have extended.

Enough has been shown for the belief in an early Saxon settlement here to allow me to make this hypothesis while I am speaking of the origin of the sceatt types. Because, unless we have the whole theory in our minds it would be impossible for us to see how satisfactorily it fits in with all the facts we can ascertain about the sceattas, how well it seems to explain their origin. In science it is considered allowable to make such assumptions as these, and by their power of explaining all the phenomena to test their validity: the process is not in the end less an inductive one. I will then assume the existence of this Teutonic settlement upon British and Gaulish shores, at least from the days of Carausius downwards. If there were Saxons on the coast opposite the eastern coast of England a reciprocity would arise between them, cut off, as each colony was, by difference of speech and nationality from its fellow-countrymen. Moreover the settled life of the Saxons in England well explains how they could hand on the use of a coinage from Roman times till the

²⁵ Sax. Chron., anno 594.

rise of their own silver money ; whereas according to the other theory of the English invasion they must have either brought the idea of a coinage with them—which we may feel pretty certain they did not—or else they must have accidentally picked up here and there a coin of Roman type and hit upon the idea of making money of their own in imitation of it. It is not in this way that money arises. There is almost always a continuous current of tradition which transmits from one generation to another, from one people to another, the types and module of the coinage, can we only trace out its course. Sometimes we are compelled to lose sight of the stream ; but if we see any way of keeping it in view we are not at liberty to abandon arbitrarily the theory which helps us to do so. Almost all the types of the sceattas may be divided into two classes—those which imitate old Roman coins, current generally not later than the fourth century, and those which derive their types from the Merovingian silver coins. Remains a small residuum of (apparently) original designs belonging in all probability to the latest portion of the sceatta epoch ; the coins which fall into this class do not form more than a twentieth part of the total number of sceattas. Out of the coins which copy Imperial and those which copy Merovingian types, the former are in a considerable majority, and this fact, combined with the preponderance of the Saxon silver coins over those of the Merovingians, seems to show that the English silver currency was in a flourishing condition before this country came into close relationship with the Franks. Yet as early as the reign of Ethelberht of Kent, there was some connection between the two lands, sufficient to have furnished us with the patterns of a coinage had we not possessed any before. The conclusion that we did previously possess a coinage is

furthered by the circumstance that the Merovingians, though we were ahead of them in the use of silver money, did not take the types of their silver coins from us. The two lands developed their silver currency independently. Evidently there was no close intimacy between them. This is not inconsistent with the belief in an earlier connection between the Saxons of the *littus Saxonicum per Britanniam* and their neighbours of the opposite coast; because these latter must have been driven away or quite subdued by the power of the Franks before the beginning of the sixth century.

In reviewing the other coinages of Western Europe during that period of transition which followed the breaking up of the Roman Empire, we have found that a certain principle has with tolerable uniformity governed the change and evolution of the coins. They have for a long time adhered to the slavish and yet rude copying of current Roman coins, one or two types only being selected for imitation; but they have at last expanded into originality and variety, yet not expanded so much that we were unable to trace the original impulse which set them upon the track of coining money. Thus among the Merovingian types, amid all their variety of profile busts and reverse crosses, we may still recognise the primary type in what has been called the Marseilles type, struck in imitation of the coins furnished by Mauritius to his favourite Gundovald Ballomer; out of the three barbarous designs which mark nearly all the Visigothic coins we can signalise two as directly inspired by the coins of Justinian and Mauritius Tiberius; and in the archangel of the Lombard gold coins we see only a development of the Victory of Justinian. Can we in the same way select any especial sceatta type or types and pronounce those to be the links which unite

the sceattas to some earlier currency out of which the Saxon coin is merely a development? The task seems a hard one, from the number and variety of the sceatta types, the many designs which these coins display. But yet that there was some prototypical currency we may feel sure; this was the case with all the other nations of western Europe, and it is not likely to have been otherwise with our own ancestors. The prototypes must be looked for in some *silver* coinage; for had the Saxons been used to a currency in gold they would have continued to strike in gold, had they been used to a copper currency they would have made their coins of copper.

I believe that the primary impulse toward the creation of the sceatt currency can be traced to the silver money of Carausius. The most numerous and the most widely extended of all the types upon the sceattas is one known as the wolf. To M. Dirks' learned essay we owe the complete exposition of the origin of this design. He shows how the type, which Hawkins speaks of as derived from a common coin (the wolf and twins) of Constantine (II.), is in reality a combination of two types to be found upon the silver money of Carausius. First, we have the wolf and twins, No. 1 (Pl. IV.), whose successive degradations are illustrated by Nos. 6, 7, 8. But, asks M. Dirks, why have we four strokes below the animal instead of two only? His answer is that the type has become confused with that of the galley, and that the four strokes stand for the four rowers as we see them in No. 2. There can, I think, be no doubt that the sceatta type is a combination of these two. We have only to turn the wolf upside down—as is done in No. 8—to see how well the type stands for the galley. The specimen given has, moreover, the remains of the mast, yard, and halyards in the form of a cross

and a triangle. Later on this triangle gets attached to the animal, then two legs are added, and a bird, as Pope or Dryden would say, "stands confessed." (Cf. Dirks, Pl. C, Nos. 11, 12, 15.) All forms of beast and bird (cf. Pl. IV. No. 19) which the sceattas bear inherit from these first parents, the two coins of Carausius. We may fairly conclude that this type was the widest spread, as well as the most frequent of all the sceatta types; for while the majority of the coins which bear it are found in Kent, it is connected with the Midland Counties by the sceattas of Ethelred of Mercia; by the unique penny of Ethelberht, No. 9,²⁶ it is connected with East Anglia, while the few sceattas which come from the north are all children of this type, which even appears on some of the stycas. What is of not less import is the fact that the coin of Ethelberht of East Anglia shows us, that degraded though this type generally became in the hands of the Saxon moneyers, the prototype must have been still known—still, one might almost suppose, in use—for so good an imitation to be produced from it as the copy we find on this coin.

Carausius' silver money, then, had apparently a paramount influence upon the formation of sceatta types. The reason of this is easily explicable upon the hypothesis we have adopted. This emperor was at first *comes littoris Saxonici*—that is, giving this title its natural meaning, he was count or governor of the Saxon colonists on either

²⁶ I have small hesitation in ascribing this coin, as Mr. Haigh ("Num. Hist. of E. A.," p. 4) does, to Ethelberht of East Anglia, and not with Mr. Kenyon (Hawkins' "Silver Coins," new ed. p. 30) to a king of the same name in Kent (725—760). The date of this king's death so soon after the accession of Pepin the Short (see below) makes it highly improbable that he could have witnessed the introduction of the penny into England.

side the British Channel. With their help he organized the fleet whereby he cleared the seas of pirates, and with their help too he seized the Imperial diadem. There was every reason why he should have been anxious to satisfy his allies. He would naturally *pay* for their support; and if these Saxons retained the same prejudices which distinguished their Teutonic brethren, they would require to be paid in silver. Accordingly, we find that Carausius is remarkable for the issue of pure silver coins in this age of a debased currency. If his days were the most flourishing days of the Saxon colonies, and if the majority of his silver coins came into the hands of the Saxons, we can understand that they might long form the principal medium of exchange, and afterwards supply the most important type to the sceatta currency.

Having thus found traces of the influence of the *comes littoris Saxonici* upon the first true Saxon coinage, it is worth while to inquire whether Carausius' types may not have suggested the designs of other sceattas. Even where the ultimate type was determined upon another pattern, the original of it may well enough have been a silver coin of Carausius; the final form being rather a variation upon this first design than a separate type. Now, I have placed at the head of the plate (IV.) three other types from the silver of the same emperor, all of which are very fairly represented upon the sceattas. The sceattas which are included in one or other of these types represent almost all of the designs, not clearly original and not copied from the Merovingian money; it is remarkable therefore, and cannot be merely accidental, that nearly all this first class of sceattas, coins copying Roman originals, represent adequately enough types of Carausius' silver money, and *ver contra* that about half of the designs upon Carausius'

denarii should be represented on the sceattas. There is a large series of Carausius' types—about eight separate ones—which represent a man or standing figure, frequently with one or more lances or standards. One of these is the coin given here on the plate (No. 3), which shows a female figure (Concordia) holding two standards, and this is, I believe, represented by the sceatta type of a figure holding two long crosses, No. 10, subsequently modified, no doubt, by imitation of later Roman coins.²⁷ So with No. 4, which displays a female giving a standard to the emperor, who holds a lance—this reappears in the two figures each holding a long cross. No. 11 shows them before the standard and lance have turned into crosses, though even here by a natural sense of symmetry they are both placed outside the figures. No distinction in the reproduction of these types would be made by the rude copyists between the male and female figure, and the substitution of crosses for standards is, in Christian times, too natural to ask an explanation.

It will, no doubt, be said : These designs can be shown to represent as nearly the designs on other coins—for example, on gold coins of the Lower Empire ; why should we suppose them descended from Carausius ? I answer that patterns of coins are not adopted at haphazard from any chance piece that comes in the way of the moneyer—silver pieces are not designed after gold pieces with which they have no special connection, but that, in the first instance,²⁸ the types of a coinage are determined by strict

²⁷ See "Num. Chron.," 1869, p. 171, note on "Old English Coinage," by the Rev. D. H. Haigh.

²⁸ *In the first instance.* There are, of course, numerous cases—too numerous to need particular mention—in which a type has been transferred from a coinage in one metal to an imitative coinage in another, through the mediation of an imitative cur-

and logical reasons, namely, the character of the previous currency, and the necessity that the succeeding types should recall those which long use has made familiar. We have seen every reason to believe that the currency of the Saxon colonists before the sceatt arose had been mainly the denarii of Carausius. If, then, the types of the money which follows are of sufficient likeness to recall these denarii, we may fairly say that the denarii were their prototypes. This, perhaps, scarcely applies to the third type given on the plate. The frequent *standard type* (No. 13) on the sceattas is, undoubtedly, as Mr. Head has shown,²⁹ copied from the small brass coins of Constantine II.; still it is worth noticing that the pattern would represent well enough one of Carausius' types, No. 5. There is one Roman type which is evidently not copied from a silver coin, but from a gold one. No. 15 rudely reproduces a frequent reverse from the Imperial solidi from Valentinian I. (364—375) to Eugenius (392

rency of the same denomination as the original. We have an example in the Merovingian coinage, where types copied at first from the gold money of the Empire, and modified upon the Merovingian gold, are transferred to the Merovingian silver coins. Had there been any Saxon imitative copper coinage, the transfer of types from Roman copper to Saxon silver would be explicable enough. But the case is quite otherwise with regard to a direct transfer from one metal to another. I cannot at the present time recall a single instance in the total range of coin-imitation of such a transfer of types—none, at any rate, which has any analogy with this one, none where the people thus imitating are neighboured by people from whom they might in the ordinary way have gained the knowledge of a currency. The imitations of Byzantine, Seleucid, &c., coins upon the copper of the Urtokees and Bennee Zengee is not a case in point, for this reason, amongst others, that these copper coins are frequently washed with silver, and called *dirhems* (silver coins).

²⁹ "Num. Chron.," 1868, p. 75. "Anglo-Saxon Coins with Runic Legends."

—394), but is probably copied directly from a coin of Magnus Maximus, struck in London (383—388), No. 14. The anomaly of a silver coin copied from a gold piece is explained by the circumstance that this pattern was first chosen not for a sceatt, but for some of the rare gold tremisses manufactured in this country, and called by the Saxons *thryms*. The British Museum possesses four coins of this type in gold, and only one in silver.

After all, the supposition of the early Saxon settlement in this country, though it has been adopted here only as an hypothesis, is almost beyond the sphere of mere *opinion*. The evidence for it is nearly overwhelming. If it be taken as firm standing-ground, the theory which I (only carrying farther the suggestion of M. Dirks) have put forward for the origin of the sceatta currency, has this element of strength, that no rival theory possessing any show of likelihood can be put forward. The sceattas were *not* derived originally from the Merovingians; had they been so the great majority of types would never have harked back to the imitation of obsolete Roman coins. They were not derived from the later Roman silver, the *siliquæ*, which formed the currency of the Germans on the Rhine. There remains only the supposition that they were taken from a miscellaneous assortment of coins, chiefly gold and copper, and not, as in almost every other country was the case, silver coins derived from silver coins, gold from gold, copper from copper. The only objection which I can imagine to the theory of the influence of Carausius' money upon the sceattas is founded upon the rarity of Carausius' silver coins; but that is surely but a slight objection, or no objection at all, when we consider the smallness of the Saxon colony in his time. The very continuous use which, according to my supposi-

tion, they would undergo among the Saxons, living very much for and by themselves, very much apart from their British neighbours, would tend to diminish the numbers of Carausius' denarii which have survived till our day;³⁰ and the number of different types, which is considerable, may lead us to believe that the number of coins actually *struck* was not proportionate to the number at present known. Some few silver coins of Carausius have been found in France, but only, I believe, a very small number. But then the *littus Saxonicum in Gallia* did not remain so long undisturbed as its English neighbour. Such objections as these seem to me to fall before the great fact that the Germans of Germany would not, until the reform of the coinage by Diocletian, accept any of the debased billon or copper-washed money of the Empire, and that Carausius, who ruled over a colony of German settlers (whom, moreover, he was anxious to please), unlike his brother Emperors coined a certain number (I am inclined to say a considerable number) of pure silver coins; that two types from among these pieces apparently inspired the first coinage which, in after years, these same colonists attempted, and that many others of his types are adequately represented upon their coins.

If, however, the theory of Saxon settlement be not

³⁰ The Romans used the heavier denarii of the Republic and early Empire till they were so worn as to be almost indistinguishable. This was made an excuse by Nerva and his successors for striking the well-known "restorations" of earlier coins. Mommsen, bk. iii. ch. ii. (Mommsen speaks of Trajan as the first restorer of the old types. One of Nerva is, however, in the British Museum.) In the "Mon. Hist. Brit.," from which Cohen took his descriptions of the coins of Carausius, 44 silver and less than 300 copper coins are engraved. In the find of Carausius coins at Rouen, out of 180 coins 3 only were denarii.

adapted as a *locus standi*, we may still gain from our numismatic inquiry no inconsiderable addition of evidence for its support.

Our examination of the various codes among the continental Teutonic nations led to the conclusion that among all those German people who had remained near the borders of the old Roman Empire, and had not shared in the movement which hurried their brother nations far from their early homes into France, and Spain, and Africa, and Italy, that all these had preserved unbroken the tradition of a silver currency. Tacitus, in the first century, noticed the preference of the German people for old and well-known types of Roman silver coins; Mommsen (we have seen) tells us, from the evidence of finds, that in the general debasement of the currency which marked the third century the pure silver money fled and hid itself in Germany; now, in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Teutonic codes show us the Germanic nations of the border still in the use of silver coins; and when with Charlemagne German influence becomes paramount in France, the change is marked by the substitution of a silver for a gold coinage. By the help of the information gleaned from the laws, we were able to draw a sort of ring round central and southern France, comprising the districts in which, before the time of Charles, the silver had remained the standard coin. This circle took in the Alemanians and some of the Bavarians; it took in Ripuaria and the north of France proper (where in the west the Saxons of Gaul were long settled), and a part, at least, of Frisia; but it left out old Saxony, and most certainly never approached the Cimbric Chersonese. These lands lay beyond the region of a currency, of which region that of the silver coinage was as it were the penumbra.

If we continue our circle it takes in the portion of England which lies opposite to the *silver coasts* of France and Holland, and we should say, *primâ facie*, that *had* this district too been from early days German, as the land of the Ripuarians and Frisians had long been German, here the tradition of a silver currency would in like manner, as it was with the Continental peoples, have been preserved. But we should have no reason to suspect anything of the sort had the inhabitants of this land not been of Teutonic blood, had they been as completely subjects of the Empire as the Britons were. We should, too, assert with some confidence that if this country had undergone a sudden and complete revolution between, say, the days of the Constantines and the date of the appearance of the earliest Saxon coins, if the older inhabitants had been all driven away or put to death by strangers to them and to all their civilisation, then no tradition of a currency would have been handed on from the days of Carausius to the days of Ethelred of Mercia or Ethelberht of East Anglia. Now what are the facts? Not only have we evidence that just the region of the old *littus Saxonicum per Britanniam* is the region of the earliest silver coinage of England, and that where we pass beyond this district (in one direction, at any rate) no silver coinage is to be found for at least one hundred and fifty years, but we have in the coins themselves much stronger evidence for the continuance of a traditionary currency than any which in the case of the Continental nations we could find. In the former case we argued only upon the general fact of silver being found current just in the region where we might expect to find it: not only is this the case here also, but the types of the early Saxon coins are found in a great majority to imitate the

bygone Roman types, and we have clear evidence that such coins were preserved and copied as late as the reign of Ethelberht of East Anglia (793) and Ciolwulf II. of Mercia (874).³¹

It is, of course, possible that the Saxons and Angles, coming from a land which knew not a coinage, without holding any intercourse with the Britons, *found*—as by accident—some Roman coins and constructed a monetary system in imitation of these. This was the older theory, so far as any theory of the origin of the sceattas had been formed. But what a chapter of accidents the theory presupposes! How curious it is that the discovery was confined to certain regions of the land—just that region where, according to other evidence, the old Saxon colonists must have lived—how strange that the same find was never made in Wessex! How strange, again, if the use of silver money sprang up thus suddenly among the Angles and Saxons of the East, that it was never communicated to their brethren of the West! Or if this be partly accounted for by the supposition of a frequent communication between the opposite coasts of England and France, why were the types of the English coins not taken from those which were in use upon the Continent?

This army of difficulties melts away if we put in place of the popular view of the English invasion the more reasonable theory of an old Saxon settlement on some of the coasts of this land, and substitute for the old theories, or no theories, of the origin of the sceattas that supposition of a continued use of silver among these Saxon settlers handing on the habit of a currency from the time of Carausius to the time when the sceattas were first coined. It takes a long time for a people to become

³¹ Hawkins' "Cuerdale Find," p. 10.

thoroughly familiarised with a coinage: once they have done so, it takes as long to make them abandon it. If Tacitus found the Germans still using consular denarii, we need not be surprised that the silver money of Carausius—coins of the palmy days of the *littus Saxonicum*—should have continued in circulation for many hundred years, when the civilisation of Rome had withdrawn from our coasts, and the “dark cloud which had been cleared by the Phœnician discoveries, and finally dispelled by the arms of Cæsar, again settled down upon the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the ocean.”³² In the thought of this decay we have no difficulty in understanding that when the Saxons came to supplement the decreasing numbers of the Roman coins by a manufacture of their own, they were only able so rudely to imitate the original types.

Upon the theory of the early Saxon settlement in Britain, we are not closely limited in the time over which we may suppose the sceatta currency to have extended. Formerly we were, at the least, confined to a date subsequent to that of the English invasion; now we have no such necessary limitation. But I do not myself feel disposed to attribute to the beginnings of the sceatta currency a very remote antiquity. It seems more probable that their rise was due to the influence of commercial relations with the opposite shores of France, as the module of the sceatta is conformed very closely to the module of silver coins of the Merovingians, as is also that of the lower Rhine. That commercial intercourse between England and France was not the origin of the *Saxon silver coinage* has already been shown. But while we believe that a silver currency had been long known

³² Gibbon, iv. 399.

by our ancestors, the special module and form which this coinage in the end assumed may easily have been determined by later influences. And it is evident, from what the finds tell us, that the Saxon sceatta did exchange freely with the Frisian and Merovingian denarii. A certain number of the sceatta types seem to have been inspired by the Merovingian coins. These we now proceed to examine. They are fewer in number than the coins copied from Roman originals, forming about thirty per cent. of the whole number of types. From five to ten per cent. may, perhaps, be looked upon as original designs; and the remainder, more than sixty per cent., are the types inspired by Roman influences.

The most interesting among the designs from Frankish coins is that which M. Dirks—seeing the final most degraded form only (No. 25)—took for a purely heathen type, the head of Wodin (Odin, Wuotan). No. 20 is a Merovingian gold coin. The piece here given is of Avranches, in Switzerland, and cannot, of course, have furnished the pattern for any English piece. But Conbrouse³³ publishes another much ruder coin with the reading, apparently, *In Palatio*, and therefore probably struck in Paris; and as the Merovingian silver copied the types of the Merovingian gold, there is no difficulty in seeing how the No. 21 was taken from a design upon a Frankish coin. The evolution of the rest of the series (Nos. 22—25) is easy to follow. If it be thought that there is a slight gap between Nos. 21, 22, this is bridged over by the reverse type, which is the same on both those coins. The whole series of crosses, too, are of Frankish origin; for the cross

³³ “Cat. des Mon. Nat. de la France,” vol. iii. (plates), pl. 24. This piece has a rude *croix ancrée* on the reverse. The English coin has the same design.

upon the reverse of coins only came into use north of the Alps through the adoption of what has been called the Marseilles type. No. 16 is a genuine Merovingian coin, or else an exact copy of one, with a cross of the form which this Marseilles type comes at last to assume. No. 17 is a Saxon imitation of this coin. No. 18, which is a Saxon gold coin, shows the more perfect form of the Marseilles cross, and this may be compared with the shape which the cross assumes upon the money of the Visigoths (Pl. III. No. 14). No. 29 is the same Marseilles cross with a bird perched upon it: the notion of the bird is a Saxon and an original one,³⁴ and yet was, I imagine, suggested chiefly by another Frankish cross, the *croix ancrée*, arising upon just the same principle that the simple dotted circle (No. 28—30) develops into a serpent with its tail in its mouth—the great earth serpent, Jörmundgandr (No. 31). It is worth noticing that the coin of Conbrouse, spoken of just now as the immediate prototype of No. 21, has the *croix ancrée* upon the reverse; No. 21 has the cross and bird. I need not dwell at greater length upon the imitations of Merovingian coins, because there is nothing in them which need cause us surprise. Sooner or later a commercial intercourse must have arisen between the opposing coasts of England and France. Their case is utterly different from that of the copies of Imperial coins.

The silver coins of western continental Europe can scarcely have been issued in large numbers before the

³⁴ Possibly in some remote way influenced by the Roman type of the aquila between two standards (cf. Cohen, vol. iii. pl. x. No. 172 [Sept. Sev.] with No. 30, noticing the two circles, possibly the survivals of the tops of the standards). Such side influences do not constitute the original of a type any more in these Merovingian imitations than in the Roman imitations.

beginning of the seventh century. All of the Merovingian coins imitate the tremisses of a date subsequent to the substitution of the Marseilles type for the older one of the Victory in profile, and this change began, as we have seen, in 585.³⁵ The Frisian silver—the coins of the Rhine mouth—form the closest link between the earlier denarii and the new silver currency of the Karling house. Therefore, I think, most of the sceattas must be brought down to the course of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries. At the beginning of the latter era the house of Heristal had attained its position of undisturbed pre-eminence. The sympathies of this Heristal family in those days lay to the east, towards Aix-la-Chapelle and the Rhine border, and it was, as has already been said, through its Germanic proclivities that it was brought to substitute a silver coinage for the Merovingian gold money. The one to inaugurate the change was Pepin the Short, the first king of his house. Pepin of Heristal and Charles the Hammer had been content to wield full royal powers without the royal title.

But in 752 Pepin the Short, son of Charles Martel, assumed the royal crown at Soissons from the hands of St. Boniface. In 755, at Verneuil, he made a capitulary regulating the currency. Allusion has been already made to the ordinance that the pound of silver should contain xxij solidi of account (Part I.). This would give for the Ripuarian denarius, at 12 to the solidus, 264 denarii to the pound, or of our weight less than 17 grains. Such a coin was little, if at all, heavier than the old silver Merovingian coins. The weights, however, of Pepin's denarii are as much as 18 or 19 grains, and this leads me to suppose that the canon referred to cannot speak of

³⁵ See Part III.

this new money. The type of Pepin's denarii is generally free from all design. The coins either give on the obverse the initials of the king, R P (Rex Pipinus), and on the obverse the name of the mint in two or three lines (Arles, Amiens, Autun?, Melle, Maestricht or Utrecht, Sens),³⁶ or else the name PIPINVS in one, two, or three lines, and on the other side R F (Rex Francorum) (cf. No. 33). One piece, however, published by Conbrouse, is a link on to the older Merovingian money. It shows on the reverse a degraded form of the *croix ancrée* with which we are so familiar upon the latter coinage. The type also appears upon one coin attributed to Charlemagne.

Some pieces of Carloman (768—771), the brother of Charles, have been published. In type and module they resemble those of Pepin and the earlier denarii of Charles.

The first coins struck by Charlemagne (668, sole king 771) follow the same design as the coins of Pepin, having the word CAROLVS in rude letters upon one side and upon the other the name of the place of striking (No. 34). Later on, however, the type changes. The obverse has in its centre a cross enclosed in a circle, and round the edge is the legend CARLVS REX FR. On the reverse KAROLVS, CAROLUS or KARLVS is disposed in a cruciform monogram with the mint name round the margin. "We must observe," says Lelewel, "the position of the cross upon these denarii. It has its limbs of equal length, and they are slightly *pâté* at the ends; the cross is *alaisée* and detached, its limbs not touching the circle which surrounds

³⁶ No reliable list of the mints of Pepin is to be found. Many misreadings occur in Le Blanc, Conbrouse, &c., Fougère's "Description Raisonnée" and Conbrouse's "Monnaies de France," M. Longpérier's "Catalogue de la Collection Rousseau," and numerous papers in the "Rev. Num." may be consulted with advantage. (Cf. No. 32—Trajectum, *i.e.* Maestrich or Utrecht.)

the field and separates the legend. A cross of this description only appears quite accidentally upon the Roman money of the preceding centuries; it appears occasionally on the Merovingian coins; it became common, and at length indispensable, on those of the Carolingians, and no other sort was used."³⁷

On coins struck in Italy after Charles's coronation as Emperor in 800, the design was much improved. A laureate or diademed bust is introduced upon the obverse, with the legend DN KARLVS AVG REX FRA ET L (King of France and Lombardy); and on the reverse is a design representing (probably) the front of the basilica of St. Peter, with the legend XPISTIANA RELIGIO (Christiana Religio). The weights of the coins of the two last types are very different from those of the coins resembling the denarii of Pepin. Of the latter the module is a little more than that of Pepin's coins, *i.e.* 20—2 grains Troy (1·3—1·4 gramme). But the coins of the two last types weigh from 24 to 26 grains. This has led many to doubt whether they can really be coins of Charlemagne, and not of one of his namesakes of the same race. The balance of probability is that both these types were struck by Charlemagne, though they were also used by his successors.

The revolution which took place in the coinage of France and Germany was thus through the victories of Charles communicated to the south of the Alps. We have denarii of the first type of this king, struck at Lucca, no doubt immediately subsequent to the fall of the Lombardic kingdom in 774. The use of silver money was at this time strange to the people of Italy, and they were

³⁷ Lelewel, "Num. du Moyen Age," tom. i. p. 87, see fig. 13.

perhaps unwilling to accept the new denarii, as in the Lombardic Code we find a decree ordering that these coins shall be received.³⁸ Charles also struck gold coins of the type of the later Lombardic gold (cf. Pl. III. 19, and "Rev. Num.," 1861, Pl. XIX. Nos. 1—4); and, as we have already seen (Part III.), others in conjunction with Grimoald, Duke of Beneventum. His influence, too, introduced a silver coinage into Lower Italy.

The example set by the kings of the Franks was soon followed in this country by the kings of Mercia and Kent. Offa, King of Mercia, came to the throne in the year of the Capitularies of Verneuil, which is also nearly the date of the earliest denarii. Of course the first English new denarii or pennies cannot be placed at quite such an early date. The first Kentish king of whom we have pennies is Egberht, who began to reign in 763. The module of his coins is rather heavier than that of the sceattas, but not quite up to the weight of Pepin's denarii. It is from 18 to 20 grains. In the types of what were probably the first pennies struck in England we seem to see the influence of Pepin's and Charles's earliest coinage. We have still the legend displayed in three lines, on one side at any rate, though the workmanship of the English coins is far superior to that of the Frankish. The execution continues to improve under Offa, when the portrait is placed upon the obverse of the coins, and all those curious and beautiful designs appear with which English numismatists are so well acquainted.

Thus by the beginning of the ninth century the revolution in the coinage of Europe is complete. Every-

³⁸ "Leg. Longob.," lib. iii., Tit. xxviii.: "Quicumque liber homo denarium merum et bene pensantem recipere noluerit, bannum nostrum, id est LX solid. componat."

where the power of the German Karlings extends, a silver currency has superseded the currencies of gold, which mark the true transition era between the fall of the Western Empire and the rise of the new Roman Empire under Charlemagne. In Teutonic England, too, the same change has been made. Spain alone, which has broken off all connection with Christendom, does not participate in the general change. From this time forward, until when in the thirteenth century certain of the Italian cities began to strike gold coins, the Byzantine solidi—called bezants—supplied such gold coinage as was used in Europe, with some assistance from the Spanish Arabic coins, those of the dynasty of El Morabiteen, long known in Europe as maravedis.

C. F. KEARY.

IV.

ON GOLD COINS STRUCK IN LATE SAXON TIMES.

By the kindness of the Rev. Arthur Carter, of Tewin, near Hertford, I am enabled to exhibit this evening to the Society a small gold coin of considerable interest. Its description is as follows:—

Obv.—+ÆDELRAED REX ANGL. Helmeted bust in armour to left, an oval shield on the left shoulder, the helmet radiated. The whole within a beaded circle.

Rev.—+LEOFPINE MIO LÆPE:.. Long double cross with pellet in centre, and three small crescents at the end of each limb; in the centre a lozenge-shaped compartment, the sides curved inward, the ground dotted, a triangle of pellets at each angle between the limbs of the long cross.

N. 51½ grains.

The type is in fact that of Hawkins, No. 203; Ruding, Pl. XXII. 1; and Hildebrand, type E.

On seeing such a coin, the first question which naturally arises is as to its authenticity. At first sight this piece has somewhat the appearance of having been cast, but on closer examination it appears rather to have been struck from dies which had been to a considerable extent injured by wear, especially in the spaces between the letters. The edges of the coin also have the usual appearance of having been forced to pass through a collar. On the other hand the size is rather larger than usual with the

pennies of this type, though identical with that of the coins like Hawkins' No. 207.

The history of the coin, as furnished to me by Mr. Carter, is as follows:—It was found about 1808 in a field on West Street Farm, in Hellingly, Sussex, at that time occupied by Mr. George Danns or his widow, by Henry Packham, a labourer on the farm. By him it was taken to a Mr. Martin, with a request that he would purchase it. Mr. Martin, not knowing the value of the coin, showed it to a travelling Jew of the name of Solomon, who weighed it and pronounced it to be worth 8s. 10d., as it was of pure gold, and this was the amount which Mr. Martin gave for it. Packham is dead, but his son, when asked if he remembered his father finding a curious piece of money, replied, "Yes, I was with him at the time. Father was mowing peas." He was able also to point out the field in which it was found. Mr. Martin, who bought the coin, is the father of Mrs. Holroyd, Mr. Carter's mother-in-law, in whose possession the coin now is; so that it has not passed through any strange hands, and its history since its finding is complete. Another argument in its favour is that Hellingly, where it was discovered, is only thirteen miles from Lewes, its place of mintage.

A silver coin from the same mint and with the same type and inscriptions is described by Hildebrand.

The existence of a gold piece bearing the name of Ethelred II. naturally calls to mind the analogous coin of his son Edward the Confessor, which is engraved in Ruding, Pl. II. No. 44, and in the "Numismatic Journal," vol. ii. p. 54. The description of this coin is as follows:—

Obv.—+EDPERD REX. Bust in armour to left, filleted; sceptre in front.

Rev.—†LVFINE ON PÆRINE. Cross, with expanding limbs issuing from an annulet in the centre, with four crescents in the angles, forming a kind of quatrefoil; a pellet in the third quarter.

N. 54½ grains.

The type is that of Hawkins, No. 219; Ruding, Pl. XXIV. 4; Hildebrand, type E.

This coin was purchased from a countrywoman at Birmingham, but its place of finding is not known. Mr. Akerman was not satisfied as to its antiquity, though "two or three gentlemen of the best practical knowledge in numismatics" agreed in pronouncing it a struck coin. If the piece were really antique, he regarded it as struck from the penny die, although no penny of Edward the Confessor of the precise type was at that time known. Since then, however, coins of this type struck by LVEINE ON PÆRINLEPIE have occurred in the City hoard described in¹ these pages by Mr. Ernest Willett, and this circumstance appears to me to afford further ground for regarding the coin as really ancient. This piece also would appear to have been found not far from the place of its mintage, if the story of the countrywoman bringing it into Birmingham is correct, Warwick being but seventeen miles distant from that town.

Mr. Lindsay,² in mentioning this coin in 1842, says that its genuineness was at first much questioned, but that he believed that it was then admitted to belong to the king whose name it bears, "but whether intended for circulation or a proof from the die of the silver is not so certain."

The occurrence of two pieces of the same general

¹ Vol. xvi. p. 369.

² "View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy," p. 83.

character, but of different kings, and found at intervals at different places, much strengthens the probability of both coins being authentic. That they were in any way intended to pass current as coins seems, however, to me to be in the highest degree improbable. The question of a gold Saxon coinage has to some extent been discussed by Ruding,³ who satisfactorily disposes of the arguments of Mr. Clarke in his "Connection of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins;" and certainly, had gold coins been at all in general use there would have been some record of them preserved by the chroniclers, even if, as is the case with the gold penny of Henry III. and the florin and its parts of Edward III., but few had survived to our times. They would also have probably been struck at London or some other important mints, and not in country towns. The correspondence in weight of the two pieces— $51\frac{1}{2}$ grs. and $54\frac{1}{4}$ grs.—is certainly close, and may be thought to represent the weight of three pennies of silver. The correspondence may, however, be purely accidental, and for the present at all events it will be safer to regard such pieces as resulting from the freaks of country moneyers rather than as representing the currency of Saxon times.

JOHN EVANS.

³ Vol. i. p. 103.

V.

NOTE ON SOME MINT ACCOUNTS OF THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND AFTER THE ACCESSION OF JAMES VI.

IN the introduction to the "Records of the Coinage of Scotland" I have alluded¹ to some of the registers and other documents relating to the every-day work of the Mint, fragments of which are still in existence. As they were too imperfect to print along with the other Mint documents, they were not included in the work referred to. But I have, in the present note, given a brief description of these accounts, in the hope that others of the same series may yet be found in some unsuspected repository. It will be seen that these papers, if complete, would be of great use to collectors of Scottish coins, by enabling them to judge accurately regarding the rarity of the various pieces. At present I shall only notice the silver coins.

The first coinage after the Accession was issued in February, 1605. The seven silver coins were the crown (60s. Scots), half-crown (30s.), shilling (12s.), sixpence (6s.), two-penny (2s.), penny (1s.), and half-penny (6d.).

Relating to this coinage we have the following Mint Registers :—

1. "The Compt of the Cunyie House maid be Thomas

¹ "Records of the Coinage of Scotland," vol. i. p. xiii.

Achesoun Mr. Cunzeour fra the tuelff day of Februar 1605 inclusive to the first day of August 1606 exclusive maid vpoun the said day of August, 1606.”²

In this account the master coiner first charges himself with 332 st. 7 lb. 1 oz. 33 deniers 12 grs. (Scots) of silver of 11d. fine, and then gives the various items of expenditure during the period. Among these are specimen coins (one of each sort) presented to the King, the Lord Chancellor, Treasurer, Secretary, Lord Advocate, Lord Clerk Register, Deputy Treasurer, Clerk of Council, and others, as well as to the officials in the Mint. Thomas Foulis and James Achesoun received payment for twelve pair of coining irons made for this coinage.

The coinage of silver commenced on the 12th of February. This record only extends to August, 1606, and the remainder of it has not yet been recovered.

2. The next document we have is the “Warden’s Register.”³ It commences on the same day (12th February, 1605) and continues down to the change of type in 1610. The amount of silver minted each day is given in full, as well as the different coins struck. The exact weight of silver struck in the smaller sorts (the 2s., 1s., and 6d. pieces) is always given separately; but the total only of the larger coins. From these entries we learn that from the 12th February, 1605, to 1st September, 1610, when the register closes, 599 st. 15 lb. 8 oz. (Scots) of standard silver was issued in the seven sorts of coins above mentioned. The 6d. (or six-shilling (Scots) piece), the only coin bearing a date in this coinage, occurs as minted in each year from 1605 to 1610, but the exact number of

² Original in Gen. Register House, Edinburgh.

³ Original in Gen. Register House, Edinburgh.

each particular coin of the larger sorts cannot be known, for the reason stated above.

The following entry will give an example of how the "Warden's Register" was kept:—

"26 Februar, 1605. Prentit in the said new Threttie schilling peices ane schilling and sexpenny peices off silver fyftene pound threttene vnce weght. Thairof in the said ane schilling peices ane pound fiftene vnce weght; in the said sexpenny peices ane pound weight. Off the fynes of eleeven deneiris ane grane. The essay put in the box. Heavie on this journey fourtie fyve schillingis money."

The type of the first coinage was altered by an act of the Privy Council dated 7th December, 1609,⁴ and the arms of Scotland were ordered to be placed in two quarters of the shield instead of one, as heretofore. In every other respect the coinage was identical with the first. The new type began to be minted on the 2nd February, 1610, and continued without alteration to the end of the reign.

The following table shows the amount of standard silver minted during the currency of the various accounts preserved:—

	Scots st.	lb.	oz.
From 1st June, 1611, to 5th March, 1612 .	= 45	4	8
„ 5th March, 1612, to 1st May, 1613 .	= 49	5	5
„ 1st May, 1613, to 1st February, 1615 .	= 85	4	3
„ 1st February, 1615, to 1st July, 1616 .	= 51	15	6
„ 1st July, 1616, to 27th March, 1618 .	= 70	1	6
„ 27th March, 1618, to 1st March, 1620 .	= 177	11	1
„ 1st March, 1620, to 20th March, 1622 .	= 103	5	7
„ 22nd March, 1622, to 12th March, 1624 .	= 132	4	2
„ 22nd March, 1624, to 13th July, 1627 .	= 163	14	10

During the continuance of the last account the King died.

The sixpences appear as struck in each year, but the

⁴ "Records of the Coinage of Scotland," vol. i. p. 215.

exact amount of silver struck in them cannot be ascertained. They were even minted in February, 1625, immediately before the death of James. From the rarity of this coin it is probable that the amount coined in each year was very small.

The unprinted records relating to this coinage are the following :—

“Coynadge Journal.

No. 8. 1610. 1611

Fra the first day of September 1610
To the tent day of Februarie 1611
whilk was the day of the deceis
of vmquhil Thomas Acheson Mr
Cunzear to his Majestie.”⁵

This account was kept by Henry Oliphant, Counter Warden, and the entries in it are exactly similar to those in the “Warden’s Register” of the first coinage. After the death of Acheson, George Foulis was appointed master coiner, and entered on his duties on the 1st of June, 1611. The new warden’s register begins on that day, and continues regularly to the end of the reign, the last entry being on the 19th of February, 1625. The second original unprinted record of the coinage is the—

“Compt of the Coynezehous maid be George Foulis Maister Conzear beginnand first of Junii, 1611.”⁶

It continues pretty regularly to the end of the reign, and was made up generally once a year. The whole amount of the bullion is charged against the master coiner, and the various payments are recorded. Among these some items of interest occur. The “Wardane’s

⁵ Original in the Gen. Register House, Edinburgh.

⁶ Original in custody of Lord Clerk Register of Scotland.

coalles" are paid for at the rate of "ilk zeir four pound." The bullion received from the "customear" of each port is given separately, affording some idea of the comparative trade of the period. Between 1610 and 1614 Glasgow and Dumbarton together paid 6 st. 8 lb. 1 oz. (Scots), while from 1612 to 1614 Leith alone paid 47 st. 13 lb. 1 oz. (Scots). The last account of the reign extended from March, 1624, to July, 1627, and in it there is a payment of thirty pounds "for renewing of the hail prenting ernes within the cunzehous," evidently after the death of the King. In the same account there appears a payment to Charles Dickeson of four hundred pounds for new seals and "ernes of the cunzehous," which shows that he was the sinker of the new coinage, of which, however, only the legend was altered. By direction of the Lord Treasurer, "ane new caice to the septour" was provided, and the cases of the crown and sword were lined and mended, the handle of the sword of honour was repaired, and "ane new pock of satein lynit with taffitie to the crowne" was provided.

CHARLES I.

The coinages of this reign commenced in June, 1625. The first coinage was similar to the last of the preceding reign in every respect, except that the legend was altered by putting CAROLVS for IACOBVS. This coinage continued to 1636. Of it the "Warden's Register" has been preserved.⁷ It is in the same form as in the last reign. Sixpences are recorded in each year up to 1636. There is now a blank in the series till June, 1639, when we find a—

"Compt of the Coyneziehous maid be John Falconer mais-

⁷ In the Mint Papers in the Gen. Register House, Edinburgh.

ter thair of betwixt the first day of Junii 1^m vi^c and threttie nyne yeiris exclusive and the third day of Apryll 1^m vi^c ffourtie ane yeiris exclusive."

This refers to the coinage called by Mr. Robertson, in his useful Handbook, the fourth coinage.⁸ It shows that the crown (or three-pound piece) and the sixpence (or six shillings (Scots) piece) were now minted. During these two years 348 st. 5 lb. 15 oz. (Scots) of standard silver were struck in crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, xl d. pieces, and xx d. pieces.

From a payment in the account it would appear that a certain William Meget, who held the position of smith in the Cunyie House, sank some of the irons for the xl d. and xx d. pieces.

CHARLES II.

Of this reign we have a "Compt and Register"⁹ of the silver coinage from 1664 to 1674, which shows the amount of each sort of coin struck in each year, and thus affords a valuable means of ascertaining the comparative rarity of the various dates.

The first entry is as follows:—

"1664 22 July. Prentit in four merk peeces—four pound thirteen ounce six drops. In two merk peeces—twelve pound nyne ounce eight drop. Remeids heavie on this journey 1 lb. 4 oz. 0 den."

The last entry is in December, 1673.

From this register the following table has been made showing the coins issued in each year:—

⁸ Handbook, p. 93.

⁹ Original in the custody of the Lord Clerk Register.

	Four-merk.	Two-merk.	Merk.	Half-merk.	
1664	$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	$\times r^2$	$\times r^4$	The half-merk only printed in Dec.
1665	$\times r^2$	$\times r^2$	$\times r^2$	$\times r^2$	
1666	$\times r^2$	$\times r^2$	$\times r^2$	$\times r^2$	
1667			$\times r^3$	$\times r^3$	{ The mint only in operation in June and August.
1668			$\times r^3$	$\times r^3$	
1669	$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	The mint only in operation in Aug.
1670	$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	
1671			$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	
1672			$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	
1673	$\times r^2$	$\times r^2$	$\times r^1$	$\times r^1$	

The two last years of this coinage not given.

The last document of the series is a fragment of the "Account of what silver moneys past their Majesties' irnes"¹⁰ during the latter part of the reign of William and Mary, and the early part of the reign of William, extending, with breaks, from 1691 to May, 1698.

The record begins with the second quarter and with the twenty-first journal, and gives the number of pieces struck of each sort of coin. Had the series been complete a very accurate idea could have been formed of the comparative rarity of the various pieces. Unfortunately hardly any year is complete.

The account for 1691, which is imperfect, commences in the month of February and closes in May, the end of the second quarter. During that period 39,244 forty-shilling pieces and 26,094 ten-shilling pieces were minted. As all the denominations occur of this date, the sixty-shilling, twenty-shilling, and five-shilling pieces must have been struck after May or before the middle of February.

The account for 1692 is not preserved, and the next account which we have commences with the 120th journal on the 23rd of October and ends on the 23rd December.

¹⁰ Original in possession of Soc. of Ant., Edin.

It is also imperfect. During the period given, 18,376 forty-shilling pieces, 1,185 twenty-shilling pieces, and 2,692 five-shilling pieces were minted. The record of 1694 seems to be complete, beginning on the 5th of January and ending on the 5th of December. During the year 33,375 forty-shilling pieces, 5,369 twenty-shilling pieces, 1,301 ten-shilling pieces, and 3,496 five-shilling pieces were minted.

Only one month's work is recorded for 1695. During August of that year 10,564 forty-shilling pieces were issued. The accounts for 1696 have not been found. Those for 1697 are imperfect, giving only the minting during the month of December, when 11,822 forty-shilling pieces were struck. The last documents preserved relate to 1698, commencing on January 3rd and ending on the 10th of May, during which period 15,904 forty-shilling pieces, 9,030 ten-shilling pieces, and 32,857 five-shilling pieces were minted.

R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

VI.

UNPUBLISHED ARABIC COINS, FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE REV. T. CALVERT.

THE eight coins described in this paper were submitted by Mr. Calvert to my examination, and with his permission I have drawn up the following account of them. I may safely say that very few small collections can boast of a series of specimens so remarkable or so rare.

The first is a *dīnār* (silver with traces of gilding) of the *Ḳarmaṭī* prince El-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad, and is especially interesting as commemorating the great inroad made by the *Ḳarmaṭīs* (or Carmathians) upon Syria and Egypt. In A.H. 360 El-Ḥasan advanced from his headquarters at Hejer, in the Baḥreyn, and, supported by the *Ikhshīdīs*, who had just been expelled from Egypt and were ready to aid any one in wreaking vengeance upon their *Fāṭimī* conquerors, took Damascus, made himself master for the time of the greater part of Syria, and marched upon Egypt with the intention of capturing Cairo and putting an end to the rule of the *Fāṭimī* *Khalīfehs*. By mere force of arms he might have succeeded, but he had to encounter in the ruling *Khalīfeh* El-Mo'izz a man who knew when to use force and when to take refuge in diplomacy; and an adroit bribe administered to the *Ḳarmaṭī's* allies produced a disastrous

roul of the invading army, and El-Ḥasan was compelled in 363 to retreat to the Baḥreyn: he died at Ramleh in 366. This dīnār, struck by El-Ḥasan in 361, and bearing the mint-name *Filestīn*, which may be taken to mean Lower Syria, is therefore a monument of a very important crisis in the history of the Fāṭimī Khalīfehs, and of one of the greatest triumphs of the dreaded Carmathians, who had for a century, both by their fighting powers and by their Ismā'ilian heresy and their deeds of sacrilege, made their name a terror and an abomination in the ears of all good Muslims.

1. R. Gilt. KARMAṬI. El-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad. *Filestīn*, A.H. 361.

Obv. Area لا اله الا الله
وحدده
لا شريك له
السيادة
الروضاء

Margin (inner). بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بفلسطين سنة
احدى وستين وثلاثمائة

(outer). لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area. لله
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه
وعلى آله
المطيع لله
الحسن بن احمد

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

(Pl. III. No. 1.)

The inscriptions on this coin are interesting as showing

that the Ḳarmaṭīs, although they really believed in none of the dogmas of Islām, observed their character of nominal Muslims to the length of inscribing the formulas of Mohammadan faith on their coins; adding, however, the benediction upon 'Alī and his family which is a necessary part of the Shiya'ī profession of faith. The expression الرؤساء السادة contains a reference to the government of the Ḳarmaṭīs. For at this time the Ḳarmaṭīs of the Bahreyn were ruled by a council of six men who were called *Seyyids*. Dr. Wright has pointed out to me a passage to this effect in Prof. de Goeje's *Mémoire sur les Karmathes de Bahrain*, p. 85: "Des lors le gouvernement se trouva entre les mains de six chefs nommés saïds, élus d'entre les petits-fils d'Abou Saïd"; and I have found a similar record in Ibn-el-Athīr's *Kāmil*, viii. ٥١, where, in reference to the death in 366 of Yūsuf ibn El-Ḥasan, the King of Hejr, it is stated وتولى امر القرامطة بعد وستة نفر شركة وسموا السادة وكانوا متفقين; and again ix. ٢٩, the title *Sādeh* (pl. of *Seyyid*) is mentioned وهما من الستة القرامطة الذين يلقبون بالسادة. These six *seyyids* are the *seyyid chiefs* السادة الرؤساء of the coin. An additional importance is given to the occurrence of this title on the coin of El-Ḥasan of 361 by a communication I have received from M. Lavoix to the effect that in the Paris collection there is not only a coin of 361 similar to that described above, but also one of 362 with the title changed from the plural to the singular السيد الرئيس, showing that the government of the Ḳarmaṭīs had in the interval between the striking of the two coins been transferred from an oligarchy to a monarchy. It thus appears that the government by six princes preceded as well as followed El-Ḥasan's reign.

The second coin (again termed *dīnār*, though of silver, and this time showing no traces of gilding) is also a record of heresy, since it was struck by an 'Alawī prince, though not necessarily by an *Ismā'īlī*; for the varieties of sectarians who pinned their faith on the house of 'Alī were numerous. In this instance it is impossible to say more than that the coin was issued by a prince of one of these *Shiya'ī* sects, for the name of the striker is wanting.

2. *Æ*. 'Alawī Prince. El-Moḥammadiyeh, A.H. 406.

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

على ولي الله

حرسه هو الله

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة ست
واربعماية

Rev. Area.

قل هو

الله احد الله

الصمد لم يلد و

لم يولد ولم يكن

له كفوا احد

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

(Pl. III. No. 2.)

The form *حَرْسَهُ هُوَ آلَهُ*, May God guard him ('Alī)! is peculiar in presenting a superfluous pronoun, but there can be no doubt about the reading, and the interposition of *هو* may have been suggested by analogy with somewhat similar cases of the redundant *هو* before *الله*, an example of which occurs on the reverse, where the correct beginning of the cxiith chapter of the *Kur-án*, *قل هو*, appears,

though in almost all other coin inscriptions these two words are omitted. It is noteworthy that on neither of these coins is found the form *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*, which the followers of 'Alī generally employed in preference to the simple *بسم الله*.

The third coin was struck by the Ḥamdānī Prince Abu-l-Barakāt, who was generally believed only to have reigned (under his brother Abou-Taghlib) from his father's death in 358 to 359, but who is proved by this coin to have exercised the power of minting in 357.

3. *R.* ḤAMDĀNĪ. Abu-l-Barakāt. *Mint obliterated.* A.H. 357.

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله
 وحده لا شريك له
 ابو تغلب فضل الله
 الغضنفر
 مصفا حرق

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ر سنة .
 سبع وخمسين وثلاثمائة

(outer).

لله الامر النخ

Rev. Area.

لله

محمد رسول الله
 صلى الله عليه وسلم
 المطيع لله
 ناصر الدولة ابو محمد
 ابو البركات لطف الله

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله النخ

(Pl. III. No. 3.)

The only subjects for comment in these inscriptions, besides the date, are the words مصفا حرق beneath the obv. Of the first there can be no doubt; it occurs on a Ḥamdānī coin of Nāṣir-ed-dawleh with Seyf-ed-dawleh in the British Museum (v. *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, vol. iii. no. 14, there read erroneously مظفر), and has also been discovered by Soret, who rightly read it مُصَفًّا and rendered it “affiné” (*Zeitsch. d. deutsch morgenl. Ges.* ix. 833), and Prof. Dozy has thence adopted it in his *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, livr. iv. p. 839. The second word was pointed, in its isolated state حرف by Prof. Tornberg, and rendered *commercio* [destinatus dirhem] (*Symbolæ*, iv. p. 47). But on Mr. Calvert's coin, and on that in the British Museum, the last letter is, I think, certainly ا ق. The fact that the second word occurs separately elsewhere is of course a proof that the two words do not necessarily belong to each other in construction nor form a compound meaning between them. If, therefore, no attempt is made to connect the two words, it is possible to point حُرِق thus and to regard it perhaps as an equivalent of محروق, with some such meaning as “tried in the fire”: but other meanings equally applicable may be found for the word.

The fourth coin is a dirhem of Mummehid-ed-dawleh the Marwānī, important only as furnishing another certain date to a reign of doubtful duration. It is similar, except the mint and date, to a dirhem in the British Museum (*Cat. Or. Coins*, vol. iii no. 51). The date must be تسعين, because سبعين is excluded by the occurrence of the name of the 'Abbāsī Khalifeh El-Kādir, who did not succeed to the spiritual throne till 381.

4. *R.* *Marwānī.* Mummehid-ed-dawleh. *Mayyāfārīkīn.*
A. H. 391.

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
الغالب باله
ممهد الدولة
أبو منصور

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بميفارقين سنة احدى
... عيين وثلاثمائة

Rev. Area.

الله

محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه واله
القادر بالله
الملك بها الدولة
وضيا الملة

Margin obliterated.

(Pl. III. No. 4.)

The fifth and sixth coins present the same inscriptions, but one is in better preservation than the other. I am unable to ascribe them to any prince, or indeed to make out the name inscribed on the obverse; but the horseman of the *Şalduki* type and the general style of the inscription point to Asia Minor as the place of issue; and similar dirhems at Berlin, which Dr. Adolf Erman, of the *Königliches Museum*, has described to me, fix the place more minutely, since they bear on the reverse the inscription *ضرب بتفليس سنة اثنين واربعين* (Tiflis, [6]42). Dr. Erman sketches the obverse inscription thus *الغ ممك الوش نيك*; but Mr. Calvert's coins do not

present the whole of this inscription. It is clearly some Tartar or Mughal name, and probably that of the Governor of Tiflis at the time when the Mughals had reduced the Seljūki Sultāns of Anatolia to the condition of rois fainéants.

5, 6. *AR.* Mughal Governor of Tiflis. *Mint and date obliterated.*
(Circ. 640.)

Obv. Mounted Bowman to right; turning round to discharge arrow. Beneath, Dragon. Above با الوس بك.

(On the second specimen س بيك thus pointed.)

Rev.

.....
لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله

(Pl. III. Nos. 5 and 6.)

The last two coins are of copper, and belong to the late Atābeg period, between 600 and 700 A.H., to judge by their style; but the prince that struck them does not, so far as I can discover, find a place in the writings of Muslim annalists.

7, 8. *Æ.* El-Wāthik Dhu-l-Karney. *No mint or date.*
Obv. Head to right.

Rev.

الواثق
ذو القرنين بن
[محمد] مود (or [المن] صور)

(Pl. III. Nos. 7 and 8.)

STANLEY LANE POOLE.

February 14, 1879.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band VI. Heft. I. and II., contain the following articles :—

1. J. Friedlaender. The Acquisitions of the Royal Cabinet of Coins from January, 1877, to March, 1878. From this article we learn that the Berlin Museum has acquired 474 ancient and 1,124 mediæval and modern coins. Among the ancient coins the most important are the following :—A gold distater of the Syrian king, Demetrius Soter, having on the obverse Demeter seated on a throne, and on the reverse a double cornucopiæ. A decadrachm of Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy III. A gold stater of Pyrrhus, struck at Syracuse, having on the obverse a head of Pallas, and on the reverse Victory carrying a wreath and a trophy. An electrum hekte of the town of Eion, at the mouth of the Strymon, with a swan and a lizard on the obverse, similar to the silver coins frequently found in the neighbourhood of the ancient Amphipolis. A silver coin of Southern Italy, having a boar in relief on the obverse and incuse on the reverse, with the words $\Lambda\Lambda\Gamma$ and ΛOM on either side. A very beautiful gold stater of Tarentum, showing on the reverse the god Poseidon, seated on his throne, and bending his head down towards his little son, Taras, who stands before him in an attitude of supplication.

Among many other coins worthy of note we may also mention a specimen of the silver money of Lamia, in Thessaly, the head on the obverse of which Dr. Friedlaender takes for that of Apollo, while Mr. Gardner, in his recently published article in "Num. Chron.," 1878, p. 266, considers it to be a portrait of the famous Courtezan Lamia.

2. A. Klugmann. On Roman Denarii bearing the names of more than one moneyer.

3. A. v. Sallet. On Greek coins of the Turkish dynasty of Danishment. In this paper Dr. v. Sallet publishes coins of Melek Gazi, A.D. 1086—1104, Melek Muhammad, 1104—1143, and Danunes, 1156—1176.

4. A. v. Sallet. Ceramus in Caria under the name of Ptolemais. One of the coins given by the writer to this town is a little copper piece which was erroneously attributed in Head and Gardner's catalogue of the coins of Thrace in the British Museum to an unknown dynast in Thrace of the name of Ptolemæus.

5. A. v. Sallet. On Roman coins. A false gold coin of Sextus Pompeius. The head of Antonia on coins of Drusus Junior. Marius, the legitimate successor of Victorinus.

6. F. van Vleuten. On a rare Byzantine coin.

7. F. v. Duhn. On the Monte Cassino Find (Aes grave).

8. J. P. Six. On the coinage of Pisidia and the neighbouring districts.

9. H. Heydemann. On the Margaritis Collection.

10. J. Friedlaender. On East Frisian coins from the Badbergen Find.

11. H. Dannenberg. On the numismatics of Pommerania and Mecklenburg.

12. A. Erman. On the coins of the Seljuks of Kerman.

Band VI., Heft 3, contains the following articles:—

1. A. v. Sallet. The Successors of Alexander the Great in Bactria and India. This article has been already noticed in the "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. xviii., p. 302.

2. J. Friedlaender. Minos. Under this title Dr. Friedlaender publishes a very remarkable silver stater of Cnosus in Crete, having on the obverse a figure seated on a throne, holding a sceptre, with the inscription **MINΩΣ** in the field; and on the reverse a head of Demeter enclosed in a square labyrinth of the Mæander pattern, with the inscription **KNΩΣION**.

3. J. Friedlaender. Sermyle. Of this city in Chalcidice, at the head of the Toronaic, or Sermyle, gulf, no coins were hitherto known. This remarkable tetradrachm has on the obverse **ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΚΟΝ**, and a naked horseman, galloping with a spear in his raised right hand, and a dog running beneath his horse. The reverse is an incuse square. Sermyle is only mentioned by the oldest historians—Herodotus and Thucydides—and in the Attic tribute lists of the fifth century B.C.

4. J. Friedlaender. Heraclea Sintica. The bronze coin here published is of a late period. It has on the obverse a Macedonian shield and the inscription **[HPA]KΛEWΤΩΝ**, and on the reverse a club and **ΕΠΙ ΕΤΡΥΜΟΝΙ**. This is the only coin which can be attributed with certainty to this town.

5. J. Friedlaender. Ptolemais in Pamphylia, not Ceramus under the name of Ptolemais.

In this paper Dr. Friedlaender maintains his former attribution to Ptolemais in Pamphylia of certain coins given by Dr. v. Sallet in the article already mentioned (supra, p. 82) to Ceramus.

6. J. Friedlaender. On the Witznitz Find of Mediæval coins.

7. J. Friedlaender. On the consecrated sword and helmet given by Pope Innocent VIII. to William I., Landgrave of Hesse, on his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1492. An event commemorated on the coin here engraved.

8. J. Zobel de Zangroniz. On coins of Saguntum.

9. A. v. Sallet. On silver coins of Gortyna in Crete, having for type Europa seated in a tree, and bearing the inscription *Τίονροι*.

The *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Band IX., 2tes semester, contains the following papers:—

1. Dr. O. Blau. On a bilingual coin of Attambilus III., King of Mesene, and on other oriental coins.

2. M. Bahrfeldt and E. Forchheimer. On two Finds of Roman denarii.

3. Dr. A. Missong. On blundered and corrected coins of the Emperor Probus.

4. J. v. Kolb. On an aureus of Clodius Albinus with the title of Augustus.

5. Dr. v. Raimann. On the Dorosma Find of Mediæval coins.

6. Professor Dr. A. v. Luschin-Ebengreuth. On sixteenth-century Austrian school-pennies.

Band X., 1st and 2nd semester, contains the following articles:—

1. Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer. On the coins of Acarnania. A most valuable contribution to ancient numismatics; 180 pp., and 8 autotype plates.

2. Dr. A. D. Mordtmann. On the Persepolitan coins.

This article is in reply to one by Dr. O. Blau, entitled the Elymæan Pyræthi and their coins, which has been already noticed in the "Numismatic Chronicle."

3. A. Klugmann. The formulæ *P.*, *P.P.*, *A.P.*, &c., on Roman republican denarii.

4. Dr. F. Kenner. The small coinage of the Emperor Nero.

5. A. Horvath. Inedited coins of the Emperor Aurelian.

6. Prof. Dr. A. Busson. Contributions to the Mediæval numismatics of the Tyrol.

7. Dr. C. Schalk. On the coin-standard of the Vienna pennies struck in the year 1450.

8. Prof. Dr. A. v. Luschin-Ebengreuth. On the coins of the Counts of Cilli.

9. W. Schratz. On the Neunstetten Find.

10. C. Ernst. On the reform of the coinage of Persia.



A



1



A



2



A



3



R



4



R



5



R



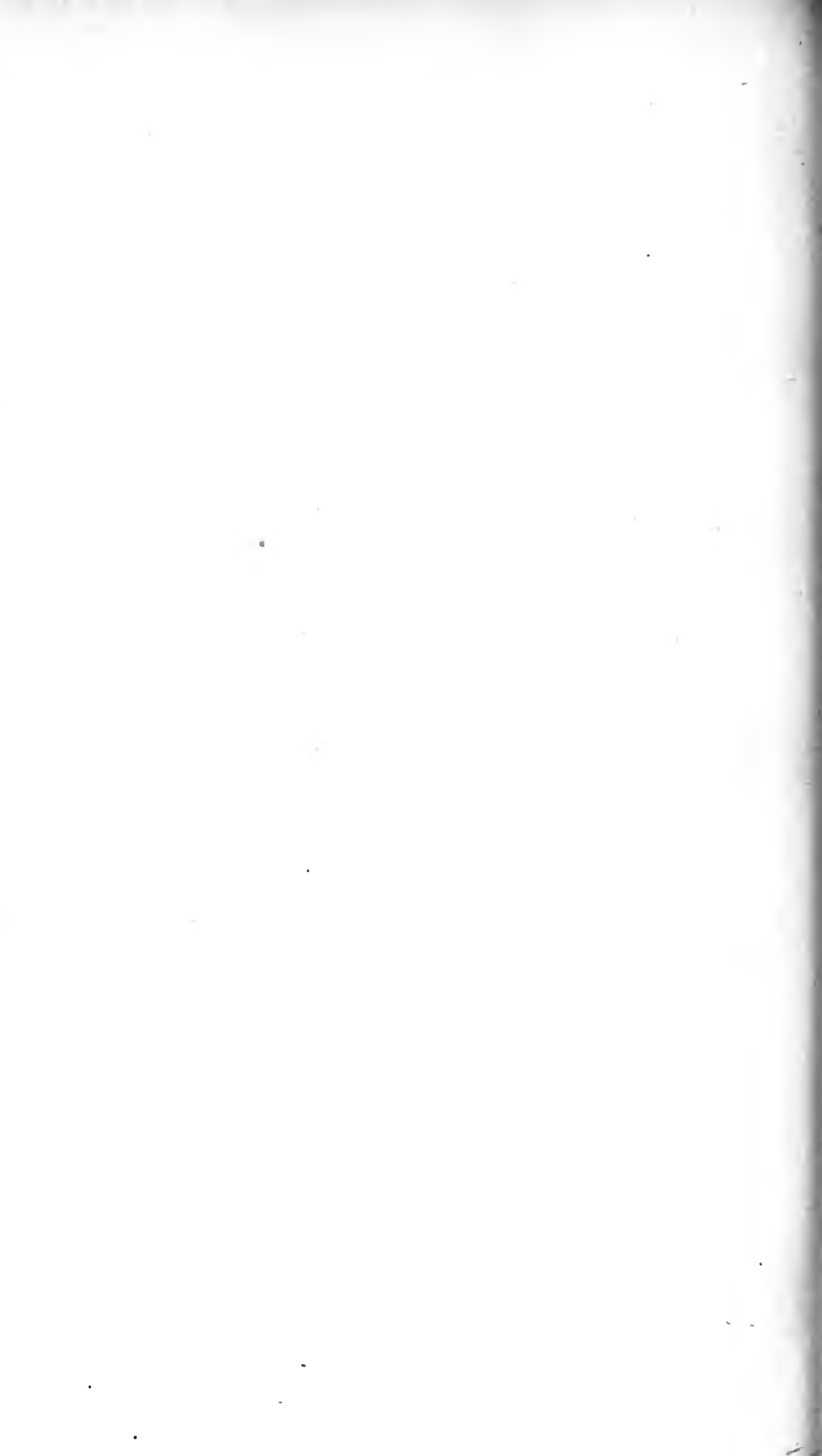
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R



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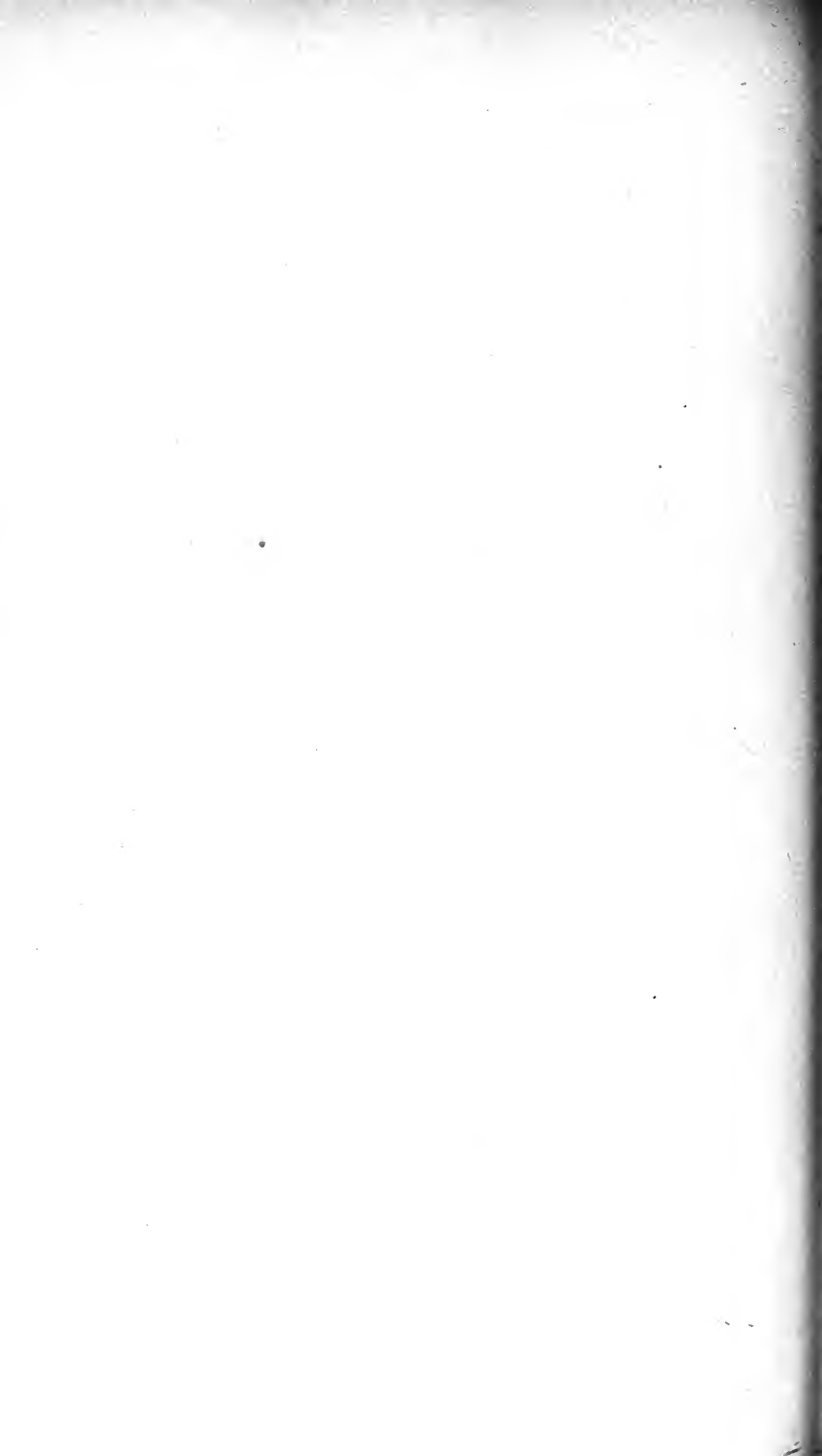
SCEATTAS FROM ROMAN TYPES.



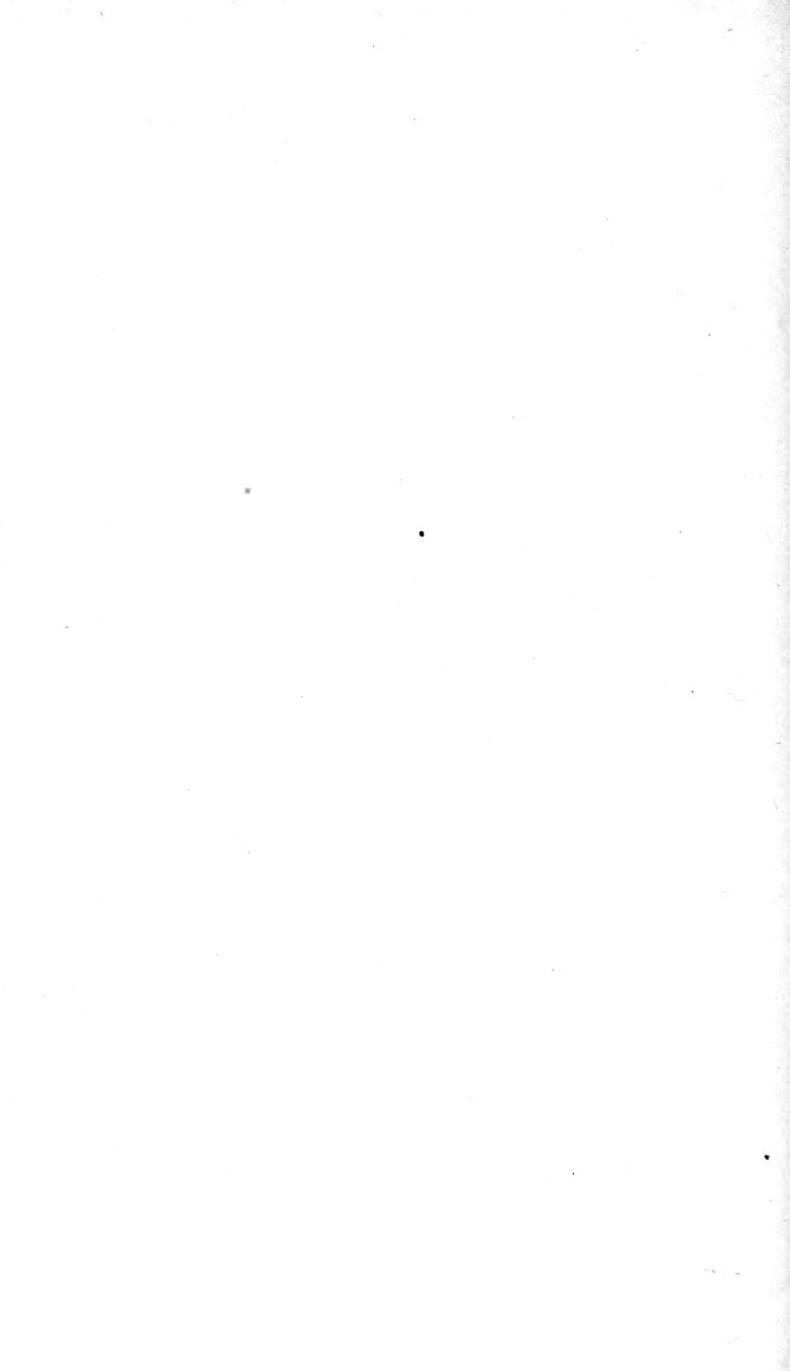
SCEATTAS FROM MEROVINGIAN TYPES.



EARLY KARLING COINS.







VII.

DISCOVERY OF ALTARS, COINS, ETC., NEAR THE SITE OF PROCOLITIA, ON THE LINE OF THE ROMAN WALL.

THE discovery of upwards of 400 lbs. of Roman coins in a well near Procolitia, on the great Roman Wall, is an event too remarkable to be passed over in silence by the Numismatic Society, although the particulars have been published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,¹ and recently by myself in the "*Collectanea Antiqua*," vol. vii., both of which works are in the library of the Society.

The coins probably numbered upwards of 15,000, as many were stolen during the excavation of the well. Mr. Clayton, to whom we are indebted for the discovery and the preservation and publication of the miscellaneous contents, secured 13,487, which have been carefully examined and catalogued.²

The following list shows the various emperors and empresses represented in the hoard, and the number of coins of each.

¹ Part I. vol. viii., New Series, "Description of Roman Remains discovered near to Procolitia, a Station on the Wall of Hadrian," by John Clayton, Esq.

² Dr. Bruce and Mr. Robert Blair were associated with me at the Chesters in the examination.

NUMERICAL VIEW OF THE COINS.

EMPEROR.	GOLD.	SILVER.	FIRST BRASS.	SECOND BRASS.	TOTAL.
MARC ANTONY	3	...	...	3
AUGUSTUS	2	1	3
M. AGRIPPA	1	1
TIBERIUS	1	1
DRUSUS	1	1
GERMANICUS	2	2
CLAUDIUS	2	18	20
NERO ...	1	1	...	50	52
GALBA	6	...	6
OTHO	1	...	...	1
VESPASIAN	6	65	476	550 ³
TITUS	3			
JULIA TITI	1	1
DOMITIAN	8	139	338	485
NERVA	1	43	38	82
TRAJAN	13	980	779	1,772
HADRIAN...	8	1,404	918	2,330
SABINA ...	1	1	58	41	101
L. AELIUS	16	14	30
ANTONINUS PIUS ...	1	12	910	891	2,141
Do. Britannia type	327	
FAUSTINA I.	6	275	407	688
M. AURELIUS...	8	345	314	667
FAUSTINA II.	12	259	395	666
L. VERUS	1	56	24	81
LUCILLA...	2	74	13	89
COMMODUS	5	189	13	207
CRISPINA	1	36	2	39
DIDIUS JULIANUS	1	...	1
DIDIA CLARA	1	...	...	1
CLODIUS ALBINUS	2	...	...	2
SEPT. SEVERUS	22	20	...	42
JULIA DOMNA... ..	1	17	4	...	22
Carried forward...	10,087

³ Owing to the corroded state of most of the pieces, and the resemblance between the coins of Vespasian and Titus, it has not been found practicable to give them separately.

NUMERICAL VIEW OF THE COINS.—CONTINUED.

EMPEROR.	SILVER.	FIRST BRASS.	SECOND BRASS.	THIRD BRASS.	TOTAL.
Brought forward...	...	...	...	...	10,087
CARACALLA	10	3	...	...	13
PLAUTILLA	2	...	...	...	2
GETA	1	...	...	...	1
ELAGABALUS	3	...	...	...	3
JULIA PAULA... ..	1	...	...	...	1
AQUILIA SEVERA	1	...	...	...	1
JULIA SOAEMIAS	1	...	...	...	1
JULIA MAESA... ..	2	...	...	...	2
SEV. ALEXANDER	4	4	...	2	10
JULIA MAMAEA	6	1	1	...	8
MAXIMINUS I. ... ..	...	1	...	...	1
MAXIMUS ... ..	...	1	...	...	1
GORDIANUS PIUS	2	1	1	...	4
PHILIPPUS I.	2	2	...	...	4
PHILIPPUS II.	1	...	1	...	2
ETRUSCILLA	1	...	...	...	1
TREBONIANUS GALLUS	1	...	...	...	1
VALERIAN	2	...	...	1	3
GALLIENUS	3	...	...	80	83
SALONINA	2	...	...	2	4
CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS	...	...	...	72	72
QUINTILLUS ... ..	...	...	...	8	8
AURELIAN ... ..	...	...	...	10	10
POSTUMUS	5	1	...	29	35
VICTORINUS ... ..	...	...	...	71	71
MARIUS ... ..	...	...	...	1	1
The TETRICI ... ..	...	...	...	81	81
TACITUS ... ..	...	...	...	15	15
PROBUS ... ..	...	...	...	19	19
CARINUS ... ..	...	...	...	1	1
DIOCLETIAN ... ..	...	...	18	...	18
MAXIMIAN ... ..	...	...	39	7	46
CARAUSIUS ... ..	...	...	...	25	25
ALLECTUS ... ..	...	...	...	16	16
CONSTANTIUS ... ..	...	...	15	12	27
HELENA ... ..	...	...	...	11	11
Carried forward...	...	...	...	...	10,689

NUMERICAL VIEW OF THE COINS.—CONTINUED.

EMPEROR.	SILVER.	FIRST BRASS.	SECOND BRASS.	THIRD BRASS.	TOTAL.
Brought forward...	10,689
THEODORA	1	1
SEVERUS II.	2	...	2
MAXIMINUS II.	2	7	9
MAXENTIUS	2	...	2
LICINIUS...	1	14	15
CONSTANTINE I.	3	197	200
FAUSTA	3	3
CRISPUS	21	21
CONSTANTINE II.	66	66
CONSTANS	25	25
MAGNENTIUS	30	30
DECENTIUS	3	3
CONSTANTIUS II.	12	12
CONSTANTINE FAMILY ⁴	230
URBS ROMA	67
CONSTANTINOPOLIS	62
VALENTINIAN	1	1
VALENS	6
GRATIAN...	15
Small Brass, illegible	27
Illegible—chiefly 1st and 2nd Brass, about	}	2,000
GREEK of NEAPOLIS, much worn					
					1
Total	13,487

To the exclusive numismatist they are disappointing, for in no one instance do they present us with a new type; and those with scarce reverses are generally so worn by long circulation as to be barely recognisable; a few

⁴ In consequence of the corroded state of most of these coins it has been found impracticable to assign many to the proper individuals.

only are in what may be called good preservation. The large number of the "Britannia" type, in second brass, of Antoninus Pius, not fewer than 327, shows that this record of triumph of the Roman arms must have been minted copiously, and probably sent exclusively to the troops in the north of Britain. I closely examined about a dozen, and found that no two of the reverses were from the same die. Mr. Blair has continued the examination to about one hundred, with the same result.

The numerical preponderance of the coins extends from Vespasian to Commodus in large and middle brass, and of these the most numerous are of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, there being 2,330 of the former, and 2,141 of the latter. There are also 2,000 which may be mostly referred to this period utterly defaced and illegible from long circulation. Nearly the entire imperial series is represented from Marc Antony to Gratian, of the latter of whom there are fifteen.

The well, as it is called, in which these coins were discovered, is a small square-walled cistern or fountain, adapted for the entrance and exit of running water from a stream which flows down a valley adjoining the station Procolitia into the Tyne. This reservoir occupied the centre of what was unquestionably a temple, dedicated to a water deity called Coventina, or Conventina. This we infer as a matter of certainty from several inscriptions on altars, and on votive fictile ware, concealed in the well, with the coins, a few personal ornaments, and other small objects. On a votive tablet dedicated by a Prefect of the First Cohort of the Batavi, the goddess is represented in a reclining position, her left arm on an urn, from which flows water, and a branch in her left hand. I see that Mr. Clayton describes her floating on a gigantic leaf of the

water-lily, but the engraving suggests the traditionary urn. All of the inscriptions are highly interesting as revealing the particular military bodies stationed at some special periods in the adjoining *castrum*. Altogether the altars amount to twenty-four, including one dedicated to Minerva.

The fact that these altars must have been placed in the well for concealment, and not from any feeling of devotion towards the goddess, is important evidence in considering the motive of those who placed them and the coins where they have reposed so long without being discovered. The seventeen altars carefully buried with their faces downwards at Maryport, on the site of another station on the Great Wall,⁵ indicate an object precisely similar to that which suggested the obscurity of the well, at some moment of danger, for the hallowed offerings intended for the open daylight as visible memorials of devotion.

In the vicissitudes of the great northern barrier there are several periods of adversity to which such concealment could be referred; but here, at Procolitia, the coins seem decisive evidence of the exact time of deposit; and they point either to the reign of Gratian or not long subsequent, the latest of the hoard being of that emperor.

I believe that at that period the entire mass constituted part of the contents of the military chest of the adjoining garrison, which, from the weight (full 4 cwt.), could not be conveniently removed in some sudden retreat occasioned by an invasion of the northern barbarians. If this view be allowed, and I see no alternative, we gain an insight into the character of the current coinage in the north of Britain at this late period of imperial rule. The

⁵ "Lapidarium Septentrionale," pp. 429 to 438.

great proportion of the large and middle brass coins shows very long circulation ; and, indeed, nearly the whole bear the unmistakable impress of wear and traffic.

Such is not the usual state of coins deposited in streams, rivers, and fountains as votive offerings, which these have been by some supposed to be, I think from not having considered the full evidence. In the numerous recorded instances of deposits of coins as votive offerings there is nothing at all analogous to this at Procolitia. Supposing the garrison and the surrounding population to have been from two to three thousand, we can conceive no stretch of exuberant piety equal to such a sacrifice of material and present good for an imaginary and future blessing. In the important establishment at the source of the Seine the coins amounted only to 850, carefully enclosed in an urn, and all in the highest state of preservation ;⁶ and this is usually the condition of coins selected for votive offerings.

C. ROACH SMITH.

⁶ See " *Collectanea Antiqua*," vol. vii. p. 63.

VIII.

REMARKS ON THE EARLY SILVER COINS OF CHARLES II., WITH AN ATTEMPTED ARRANGE- MENT OF THE SMALLER PIECES NOT FULLY CLASSIFIED BY HAWKINS.

I VENTURE to offer the following remarks on the early silver coins of Charles II. from the dies of Thomas Simon, in the hope that other collectors may be induced to examine them more critically, and that attention may be called to these somewhat neglected English coins, as they possess many attractions, and are well worthy of study.

The name of this eminent artist is spelt by Hawkins "Simon" and "Simons," by Ruding "Symond" and "Symonds," and in a foot-note "Simon;" a special warrant, published in "Num. Chron.," vol. iv., p. 251, calls him "Simonds." It is there shown that he received his salary as engraver for nearly three years after 1662, and that he died and his will was proved in August, 1665. He was employed on, and delivered dies for, a Scottish coinage in January, 1663 (the year his petition crown is dated), and warrants are extant, dated 1664, ordering him to engrave dies for the King's service, although Hawkins informs us the date of his retirement or removal seems uncertain, and the events of his life after 1663 are involved in obscurity. I am inclined to believe that,

although he might have felt himself aggrieved by the preference given to the brothers Roettier, he was still employed to make dies down to the time of his death.

On reference to Ruding, it appears that, although orders were given in 1660 to Thomas Simon to prepare punches and dies for the new coinage, they could not have been ready before 1661, and probably no coins were struck from them till the middle of that year, for so great was the scarcity of coin that on 29th January, 1661, Spanish, Portuguese, and French coins were ordered to be "current of and in England, as if they had been sterling money." On the 10th June the export of gold and silver, and the waste of gold in all sorts of gilding was prohibited. On 26th August, units, Brittany crowns, and thistle crowns, and also half-crowns were ordered to be current for a sum greater than their former value.

By proclamation of 7th September, 1661, the money of the Commonwealth was ordered not to be current after 30th November following. This time was by several subsequent proclamations extended until May in the next year. It is evident, therefore, that the new issue was not numerous or in general circulation, and that pieces of different values were issued from time to time, as they were required, and not in sets of consecutive value. I also infer that all the pieces without numerals were struck some time in the year 1661, for a warrant of 28th November, 1661, orders the values of the several pieces which were to be coined under the indenture of 20th July in the last year to be stamped upon them; we must, therefore, assume that all the coins with numerals were issued in and after the year 1662, the crown pieces of that date having been confessedly issued in 1663.

The early coins of Charles II. are of great artistic

beauty. Ruding's plates by no means do them justice; by Hawkins they are not figured; and the letterpress descriptions by both authors are scanty and unsatisfactory. Hawkins writes, in ed. 1841, p. 210: "Of this hammered money there are three distinct coinages—the first are distinguished by having neither inner circle nor numerals behind the head to indicate the value; the second has the numerals but no inner circle;" and after referring to Ruding's illustrations for examples of these coins, he adds, p. 211, "There are different dies of the penny, which present some unimportant varieties." The last sentence is entirely omitted in Kenyon's work, where, at p. 373, it is tried to reconcile the text by giving different readings of the pennies and half-groats. But such legends as are hereafter pointed out belong to two distinct series of coins. At p. 212 Hawkins refers to another type, and in his table specifies four coinages which are treated by him as an entire hammered series.

After careful examination of such coins as I possess and those to which access has been obtained in the British Museum and elsewhere, and comparison of them with Ruding's plates, I submit that there are, among the smaller pieces, at least six distinct types of coinages, three of which are hammered and three confined in a collar or milled; that only two sixpences can be classified among them; and that the remaining sixpences, shillings, and half-crowns, with and without numerals and inner circle, and also those with numerals and inner circle, do not form part of the series, as Ruding and Hawkins presume, but a separate and distinct coinage.

In the classification of all the early coins by Simon, I attribute great importance to the shape of the crown on the king's head, and the number of arches of which it is

composed, and I would suggest this peculiarity as a distinctive guide for the arrangement of these interesting pieces.

Type I.—The first in the series are those without mm. figured by Ruding in supplement, plate vi., figs. 10, 11, and 12, consisting of sixpence and half-groats; they have two plain bars to the crown, surmounted with ball and cross; the crown of one of the half-groats is, however, more like a cap of maintenance (see Rud., pl. vi. fig. 12). They have either no mm., or a small pellet only. Not having seen similar coins, I describe them here from Ruding's plate.

Type II.—The second of these coins, often called patterns, consist of the penny and half-groat, also without numerals or inner circle; mm., small crown on obverse only (see Plate IV. figs. 1 and 2). The legend begins at the top, and continues all round without interruption. On the penny, CAROLVS · II · D · G · M · BR · F · ET · H · REX ·; and on the half-groat, CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX ·. The crown on the king's head has a flat appearance, with two arches only. Owing to this peculiarity, I consider the sixpence (Ruding, xxxiii. 3; see Pl. IV. fig. 3) as belonging to this series; for although the legend reads FRAN · instead of F · or FR ·, it is in other respects of precisely the same character. These, like the former, are undoubtedly hammered.

Type III.—Next in order I place those coins with numerals and inner circle having two arches to the king's crown; on these the legend also begins at the top, and continues all round. The penny reads, CAROLVS · II · D · G · M · B · F · ET · HIB · REX ·; the half-groat, CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRA · ET · HIB ·

REX ; and also BR · FR · (see Plate IV. figs. 5, 6, 7, 8). The threepence and groat, however, differ in many respects from the penny and half-groat ; the legend is not the same, the work is coarser, the arches of the crown are nearly and, in some instances, quite plain, and the locks of hair are divided, leaving the left shoulder exposed (compare 7 and 8 with 5 and 6) ; the groat has a curl of hair on the king's forehead. The differences in these respects are so great as almost to make me disposed to separate them from the penny and half-groat, with which they have hitherto been placed. The threepence reads, CAROLVS · II · D · G · M · BR · FR · ET · HI · REX · The groat, CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX · In this and the next series only do we find the mm. on both sides. I do not include in this series, as Hawkins does, the sixpence, shilling, and half-crown with numerals and inner circle, because of the shape of the crown, for on all the larger pieces, with the exceptions before pointed out, there are four ornamented bars to the crown, giving it a rounded and not a flat appearance (see Plate IV. figs. 17, 18, 19).

Type IV.—This type is what Hawkins calls his second series, but I place it fourth in sequence, and the first of the milled money. Of it I have the penny and half-groat only (probably none others were ever coined). In character these coins are very similar to type No. II., and have been struck with unusual care ; are more circular, with a flat two-arched crown and numerals but no inner circle. The legend, too, commences at the top, and continues all round the coin. It reads, on both the penny and half-groat, CAROLVS · II · D : G : M : B : F : ET · II : REX · ; mm., small crown on both sides (see Plate IV. figs. 9, 10).

Type V.—Of this type I possess the penny and half-groat only. They have numerals but no inner circle; the legend is the same as the last series, the workmanship very similar to Type II., but as the bust extends to the edge of the coin and the legend begins at the bottom, a marked distinction is established (see Plate IV. figs. 11, 12). In this series the contraction & is used instead of ET; mm., crown on reverse only.

Type VI. is described by Hawkins, 1st ed. p. 212, as "pieces of the small money, *i.e.* groats, threepences, half-groats, and pennies, which are thicker, smaller, and have the legend commencing at the bottom. The king's bust is of the same size as upon the broader pieces, but it descends quite to the edge of the coin. They have the numerals but not the inner circle, and have the mm. on the reverse only." Nothing can be better than this description, but when he adds, "These coins are of the same size as the same denomination of milled money. They are certainly the last specimens of hammered money; indeed, from the regularity of their form and general neatness they have the appearance of having been struck by the improved machinery, and confined in a collar," I must be allowed to differ from him, as there seems to be some confusion, if not contradiction, in this paragraph; for if the coins, when struck, were confined in a collar (of which there can be little doubt) they are what we term milled, not hammered. I wish, however, to point out that this type differs from all the others in having four arches to the crown, with an additional medial arch on the groat, and a conspicuous curl on the king's forehead. On each of the coins the locks of hair are separated, and, like the threepences and groats in Type III., do not cover the left shoulder (see Plate IV. figs. 13, 14, 15, 16).

The legend is, CAROLVS · II · D · G · M · B · F · & H · REX · ; the contraction & being again used instead of ET. The mm. is on the reverse only.

The reverses of all the coins I have described, as well as of the larger pieces, are the same, mm. excepted. The arms of England are quartered with those of France in the first and fourth quarters, those of Scotland in the second, and Ireland in the third, enclosed in a plain square-topped shield, the ends of a cross fleury projecting slightly beyond it, and the whole encircled by the motto CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO (see Plate IV. fig. 4, also Ruding, plate xxxiii., figs. 14, 19, &c.).

On the principle that the shape of the crown is a distinctive mark of importance in the classification of the early coins of Charles II., I do not add, as Hawkins has done, the sixpence, shilling, and half-crown, with numerals and inner circle, and those without numerals and inner circle (excepting the two sixpences in Types I. and II.), for on all of them the crown is composed of four arches, and on none of them does the king's bust extend to the edge of the coin (see Plate IV. figs. 17, 18, 19).

All the larger pieces I have seen are decidedly hammered, and as they do not agree with any of the six types of small money here described, they must for the present be ranked by themselves, and will then make three more distinct series, numbering nine in all.

On reference to Ruding's plate xxxiii., it will be seen at once how Hawkins fell into the error he did, for there the coins are grouped as four sets, and the series of the smaller coins in our national Museum is so defective that he had not sufficient opportunity to compare the plates with other and more numerous specimens.

HENRY WEBB.

IX.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SOMERSETSHIRE TOKENS NOT DESCRIBED IN BOYNE'S WORK.

THE following list contains forty-seven varieties, unknown to Boyne when he published his book on the subject in 1858. There is only one halfpenny among them, and it is a fact that no other county in England has such a large proportion of farthings to the entire issue as Somerset. Out of more than three hundred issued, there are not half a score that have the word *halfpenny* upon them, and *three of them* belonged to Wellington, of which Boyne remarks:—"It is doubtful whether these (tokens) are correctly placed to Somersetshire, as Wellington in Shropshire is a larger town." It is a curious fact that the Wellington town-piece issued by the overseers as "their halfe pency (*sic*) for the benefit of the poore" is much smaller than the good honest *farthings* issued by the public authorities of Bath, Bridgewater, Chard, Frome, Ilminster, Langport, Minehead, and Taunton, which, if the word "FARTHING" had not been impressed upon them, might very well have passed as halfpennies, and are, indeed, much larger than many of the Irish penny tokens of that period.¹

¹ These eight farthings weigh collectively $11\frac{1}{2}$ dwts. (average about 34 grs. each), whilst my Wellington town-piece weighs only 21 grs.—a startling commentary on the assertion that it was issued "for the benefit of the poore."

From the repeated devices of the woolpack, woolcomb, croppers' shears, &c., it may be inferred that clothmaking was extensively carried on in the country. Much of this old staple trade was driven northward when steam-power was introduced, but it still lingers in some localities, notably at Frome and Shepton Mallet, whilst a very large establishment for the manufacture of serges and other woollen goods is carried on at the present time by Messrs. Fox Brothers at Wellington.

I am indebted to the Curator of the Taunton Museum for the description of those tokens lodged there, marked under the numbers T.M., and to Mr. J. S. Smallfield, of London, for all in the list without any initial to them, some of which are in his collection. Those marked G. are in my own.

I shall feel obliged if members of our Numismatic Society who may know of any unpublished Somersetshire tokens not included in this list will kindly give me a description of them.

BATH.

1. *Obv.* William Landicke (script).—W. A. L. (in four lines).

Rev. IN . BATH . 1669.—Three tuns (one and two). Probably by the same artist as Boyne 14, the obverse being arranged in the same way. The device on the reverse is like the Oxford token, B. 98, engraved in pl. 26, No. 4.

2. *Obv.* WILLIAM . MARDEN.—The Weavers' Arms.

Rev. OF . BATH . SILK . WEAVER.—W. A. M.

BATHEASTON.

3. *Obv.* JAMES . PEARCE . MERCER.—The Mercers' Arms.

Rev. IN . BATHESTONE.—I. I. P.

4. *Obv.* ELDAD . WALTERS.—A merchant's mark between E. W.

Rev. IN . BATH . EASTONE.—E. M. W.

There are several other merchants' marks in the county series, showing the issuers were carrying on an extensive business.

BRIDGEWATER.

5. A variety of the town-piece, B. 39, is from a different die, g. having on reverse no flags on the two outer towers of the castle, and being smaller in diameter. The mint-marks and ornaments in the field of obverse differ, but in other respects they are alike. I have both specimens. The town-piece, B. 40, has flags on the outer towers.

6. *Obv.* ALEXAND . ATKIN^S.—A. A. A.

Rev. OF . BRIDGEWATER^R.—1656.

This is a variety of B. 41, with a different date.

7. A variety of B. 47 is dated on reverse 1652.
g.

8. A variety of B. 49 has no date, and reads thus :—

Obv. JOHN . LINTON.—The Salters' Arms.

Rev. BRIDGWATER.—I. E. L.

8a. Another variety is dated 1659. (T.M.)

9. *Obv.* WILLIAM . SERLLAND.—W. S.

Rev. OF . BRIDGEWATER.—1654.

CASTLE CAREY.

10. *Obv.* EDWARD . RVSE.—1666.

Rev. IN . . CASTELL . CARY.—E. M. R.

This town does not occur in Boyne's list.

CHARD.

11. *Obv.* JOHN . CHAPMAN . FO^R.—Three cloves.
G.

Rev. NECESSARY . CHANG.—Three cloves.

Although no town is upon this token, I am informed that John Chapman was Mayor of Chard in 1657, and many of the above tokens have been found there, including my own specimen.

12. *Obv.* JOHN . CHAPMAN.—Device not stated.

Rev. HALF . PENNY.—Pair of scales across the field.

This description was copied by the late Mr. Henry Christie from a MS. list of coins, &c., in the library of our L. N. S.

13. *Obv.* JOHN . LEGG.—A pair of shears.

Rev. IN . CHARD . 1660.—I. A. L.

14. *Obv.* HENRY . MILLS . 1668.—A Pegasus.

Rev. IN . CHARD . SADLER.—H. H. M.

This description was kindly given to me by Mr. Arthur Hull, Newhays, who has the token.

15. *Obv.* WILLIAM . SAYER.—A woolpack.

Rev. IN . CHARD.—W. S. S.

16. A variety of No. 15 is dated 1660 on reverse. In other respects the tokens are alike.

CREWKERNE.

17. *Obv.* ANNE . ADKINS.—Three cloves.
G.

Rev. FOR . NECESARY . CHAN^G.—Three cloves.

This token (but slightly different in the legend) appears among the uncertain ones in Boyne, p. 527, No. 11; but as the gentleman from whom I had it assures me it has been often found at Crewkerne, I have ventured to assign it to that town. From its similarity to No. 11 *ante*, it is probably by the same artist.

CROSCOMBE.

18. *Obv.* JAMES . CVTTING . OF.—Arms in shield.

Rev. CROSCOMB . IN . SOM^R.—I. I. C.

FROOME.

19. *Obv.* RICHARD . BVRLTON.—The Haberdashers' Arms.

Rev. IN . FROOME.—R. B.

20. A variety of Nos. 99 and 100 is dated 1664.

21. A variety of B. 104 reads FRWMM! on reverse.

GLASTONBURY.

22. A variety of B. 113 is dated 1653 on reverse.
G.

23. A variety of B. 115 is dated 1666 on reverse.
G.

ILCHESTER.

24. *Obv.* GEORGE . SMITH . 1668.—The Mercers' Arms.

Rev. OF . IVELCHESTER.—G. S.

25. A variety of B. 131 reads ITMISTER.

LULLINGTON.

26. A perfect specimen of B. 138 reads on—

Obv. JAMES . BRADFORD . OF.—I. B. and a merchant's mark.

MINEHEAD.

27. *Obv.* ROBERT . VGDEN.—A double-headed axe.

Rev. OF . MINEHEAD.—R. M. V.

This is a variety of B. 150, and not dated.

NETHER STOWEY.

28. *Obv.* JOHN . HOOPPER.—A mortar and two pestles.

Rev. OF . NETHERSTOY.—I. G. H.

ROAD.

29. *Obv.* DAVID IEFRES.—A barrel.

Rev. IN . ROAD . 1664.—D. I.

TAUNTON.

30. A variety of the town-piece, B. 182, is struck from a different die, but has the same legends and devices. There are above one hundred English town-pieces, struck for various officials, but this is the only one issued "BY . THE . CONSTABLES."

31. Another variety is of octagonal shape, and thicker.
G.

32. *Obv.* JOHN . BARTON.—Rose and crown.
T.M.

Rev. OF . TAVNTON . 1666.—I. M. B.

33. *Obv.* SAMVE . BINDEN.—A pair of scales.
T.M.

Rev. TAVNTON . SOMMERSET.—S. S. B.

The first charter was granted to Taunton by Charles I., A.D. 1627, when Samuel Bindon was one of the capital burgesses. Taunton has been unfortunate with its borough charters. At the Restoration, in 1660, this charter was annulled on account of the support given to the Parliamentary party during the Civil War. In 1677 a second was granted, which was again lost in 1792, from the cor-

poration having failed to keep up the requisite number of aldermen and burgesses. After remaining without a mayor and corporation for eighty-five years (two bailiffs chosen annually at the Court Leet were the returning officers), a new charter for the re-establishment of a corporate body was granted in 1877.

34. *Obv.* AT . THE . 3 . WIDDOWS.—R. E. B.

Rev. IN . TAVNTON . 1655.—R. E. B.

The 3 Widows Inn was converted some years ago into a wine and spirit shop, but the old sign is still retained by the proprietor, when taking out his annual license.

35. *Obv.* THOMAS . CARPENTER.—A soldier.

T.M.

Rev. OF . TAVNTON.—T. A. C.

36. *Obv.* ROBERT . GRAY.—A woman making candles.

T.M.

Rev. IN . TAVNTON.—R. K. G.

This is a variety of B. 199.

37. *Obv.* JOHN . MERIDETH . MERCER.—The Mercers' Arms.

G.

Rev. IN . TAVNTON.—I. A. M.

This token was probably by the same issuer as B. 207, but the surname is spelt different. A John Meredith was one of the two aldermen in the first corporation, A.D. 1627.

38. *Obv.* THO . PEARCE . AT . Y^E . WHIT.—A lion rampant.

T.M.

Rev. LYON . IN . TAVNTON . 1664.—T. E. P.

The White Lion.

39. *Obv.* JAMES . PITTS . 1661.—A pair of shears.

T.M.

Rev. IN . TAVNTON.—I. A. P.

Two years afterwards, it would appear, the stock of tokens was exhausted, and the issuer sent out another lot, reading as follows :—

40. *Obv.* JAMES . PITTS . 63.—A pair of shears.
T.M.

Rev. IN . TANTON.—I. A. P.

41. *Obv.* ROBERT . SMITH.—A pair of shears.
T.M.

Rev. IN . TANTON . 1665.—R. E. S.

42. *Obv.* HENRY . TANNER.—1664.
T.M.

Rev. IN . TAVNTON . DEEN.—H. A. T.

Taunton Deane is the name of the ancient manor, comprising the whole of the district within and around the town, for which the lord of the manor annually holds his Courts Leet.

See Boyne, No. 201, for another Taunton Deane token.

43. *Obv.* STEAPHEN . TIMEWELL.—A hat and feather.
T.M.

Rev. OF . TAVNTON.—S. E. T.

44. *Obv.* HENERY . YOVNG . AT . THE.—An angel.
T.M.

Rev. ANGEL . IN . TANTON . MERC.—H. Y.

The above tokens, together with those of the old borough described by Boyne, were nearly all collected by the late Mr. J. Bluett, of Taunton, and have been recently bought by the Museum authorities.

WILTON.

45. A variety of B. 247 is dated on R. 1666, under R. I. A.

WINCANTON.

46. *Obv.* JOHN . KEVES.—A squirrel.

Rev. OF . WINCANTON.—I. K.

YEOVIL.

47. A variety of the town-piece, B. 252, from another die, is
g. dated 1669. With that exception they are alike.

I have both in my collection. After enumerating the places in which these town-pieces were issued, Boyne remarks, it is "a larger number than in any other county;" and with the varieties noted *ante*, 5, 30, 31, and 46, there are twenty-one in all for Somerset.

VARIATIONS FROM BOYNE'S LIST AND CORRECTIONS.

No. 32. *Rev.* For 1666 read .66.

61. *Obv.* For COATES read COALES.

62. *Rev.* For PORTREEVE read PORTRIFF.

70. *Obv.* For currycomb read woolcomb.

97. *Obv.* The surname is FISHER.

98. *Obv.* For FROOME read FROOMB.

123. *Rev.* For BVRROW read BVRROV.

135. *Obv.* For CHARLES read CHARLLS.

136. *Obv.* L . E . mean Langport Eastover.

Rev. I . M . are the initials of John Mitchell, who was
the then Portreeve.

163. *Rev.* For MALLET read MALLETT.

164. Belongs to Tinhead, Wilts. See p. 488.

192. *Rev.* For NECESSARY read NESSESARY.

194. *Obv.* For DVNCOMBE read DVNSCOMBE.

196. *Rev.* For TAVTON read TAVNTON.

203. *Rev.* For TAVNTON read TAVNTVN.

207. *Rev.* is a castle, with TANTON below, both across the
field.

253. *Rev.* For YEOVILL read YEAVILL.

H. S. GILL.

X.

MILLED SCOTTISH COINS: 1637—1709.

THE study of this remarkably interesting though limited branch of our national coinage appears to have been much neglected, since most collectors of Scottish coins have confined their investigations to the period terminating with the reign of James VI., afterwards James I. of England. Many numismatists, moreover, appear to be wholly ignorant of the fact that the Scottish coinage continued in force until the perfect union of the two countries, which occurred about the middle of the reign of Queen Anne—that is to say, that separate and distinct pieces were struck for Scotland until the year 1707—presenting a variety of denominations and types well calculated to afford the more than usual interest which attaches to the study and classification of a well-defined *group* of coins.

To detail this series in a more comprehensive style than has hitherto been adopted, is the aim of this paper; and the information thus afforded is the result of a close perusal of the various works upon the subject, aided by an investigation of the coins themselves in the British Museum and elsewhere.

As instances of what may be termed the “break-off” of interest and research concerning this epoch, it may be

stated that Mr. Wingate, who has attained to eminence as an authority upon the coinage of Scotland,¹ frankly confesses that he has given very little attention to this series, and adds that he copies the dates given by Mr. Lindsay. The plates in his work, moreover, are as bad as bad can be, merely giving a rough idea of what the coins are like. His "Estimated Rarities" must, therefore, be regarded as fabulous, and to a practical collector soon turn out to be so.² The two-merk piece, dollar, and half-dollar of Charles II. are considered by him to be of equal rarity, which is not the case; he describes the forty-shilling piece of James VII. as comparatively common,³ and omits all mention of the Pretender pieces, though he himself possessed specimens. He regards the twenty-shilling piece of William and Mary as being on a par,⁴ as regards rarity, with the sixty-shilling piece, though the former is held, and deservedly, to be by far the rarest coin of the whole group. Finally, he estimates a degree of rarity to the mythical sixty-shilling piece of William, and afterwards states⁵ that he is unaware of the existence of a single specimen—a saving clause with which all Scottish numismatists will no doubt agree, since none have as yet turned up. The supplementary Edinburgh coinage of Anne is also wholly omitted. Unknown dates thus become perpetuated as *known* dates, and types which probably have no existence find their way into a work of authority.

In the plates of Folkes,⁶ which form a part of the illus-

¹ Wingate's "Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland," Glasgow, 1868, p. 129.

² Ibid., p. 129.

³ Ibid., p. 130.

⁴ Ibid., p. 132.

⁵ Ibid., p. 134.

⁶ Folkes's "Tables of English Silver and Gold Coins," London, 1763.

trations to Ruding's Annals, there is a considerable amount of execution, but they lack that accuracy of resemblance to the coin portrayed now so admirably attained by our autotype and other processes. The shields of arms on the reverses of the pieces of the merk of Charles II.⁷ are obviously intended to form a St. Andrew's cross; but here they are disposed to form a St. George's cross, showing how the engraver has mistaken the evident aim of the artist. Some coins are too large, others too small; and, as might be expected, the sixty-shilling piece of William again makes its appearance.⁸

Snelling's plates to the milled Scottish coinage⁹ are indeed bad—they could hardly be worse. The *reverse* of the sixty-shilling piece of William is figured, so that we get the date, 1699.¹⁰ The death of Snelling appears to have occurred while this portion of the work was in the press.

Cardonnel, in his preface to the "Numismata Scotiæ,"¹¹ states: "Snelling on Scottish money is very defective; many of his plates are so badly executed that they scarcely bear any resemblance to the pieces they mean to represent." I have never seen this work, but, according to Mr. Till,¹² Cardonnel himself was infinitely inferior to Snelling in all his details.

Another writer upon Scottish milled coins, Mr. Marshall,¹³ merely describes the coins, without remark of any

⁷ Pl. xlii. Nos. 1 to 4.

⁸ Pl. xlii. No. 17.

⁹ Snelling's "View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Scotland," London, 1774.

¹⁰ Pl. vi. No. 21.

¹¹ Cardonnel's "Numismata Scotiæ," 1786.

¹² Till's "Essays, &c.," London, 1837, p. 126.

¹³ Marshall's "View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Great Britain," London, 1838.

kind, save a paragraph in the preface to his work, which runs as follows:—

“I have likewise added a list of the dates and varieties of the Scotch milled coins, but as few, if any, collectors have hitherto paid any attention to the dates of these coins, it is probably imperfect, as many dates and varieties may perhaps be found which I have not enumerated. I have, however, considered it better not to notice any but such as I know to be correct, as by copying printed catalogues I might only be perpetuating errors and misleading my readers.”

In view of the extremely accurate and methodical way in which Mr. Marshall has described the English coins in his work, I am of opinion that, after the above statement, his dates may be accepted as correct.

Mr. Lindsay's work¹⁴ was published in 1845, and his two supplements in 1859 and 1868. He gives descriptions of the various Anglo-Scottish silver coinages, but does not figure any specimens.

The last work published upon Scottish numismatics is the “Records of the Coinage of Scotland,” by Mr. Cochran-Patrick.¹⁵ This imposing work consists of a mass of hitherto unpublished Acts and Warrants of the Privy Council, in two handsome volumes, supplemented by sixteen plates executed by the autotype process, the value of which, as applied to illustrating numismatic books, cannot be over-estimated. Lists and descriptions of the coins are not, however, given; indeed, such detail does not fall within the scope of the work.

The missing link is, therefore, clearly a concise and

¹⁴ Lindsay's “View of the Coinage of Scotland,” Cork, 1845.

¹⁵ Cochran-Patrick's “Records of the Coinage of Scotland,” Edinburgh, 1876.

detailed list of all the known dates of these coins, together with notes as to their rarity or otherwise, and an idea of their relative values.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The value of English money as compared with Scottish at the time of the accession of James VI. to the English throne and the union of the two crowns, was as 12 to 1—that is, the standard pound English was equal to twelve pounds Scottish. Folkes says :—¹⁶

“Although the pounds, shillings, and pennies of Scotland have ever borne the same proportion to each other as the pounds, shillings, and pennies of England have done, yet was the pound in tale of England (and commonly called in Scotland the pound sterling, to distinguish it from the other), very nearly, if not exactly, equal to twelve pounds in tale Scottish at the time when the union took place. For King James did, by proclamation, a few days after his accession, cause the gold SIX-POUND PIECE of Scotland to be current in England for ten shillings sterling; and the MARK piece of silver, of the value of thirteen shillings and four pennies Scottish, to be current here for thirteen pennies and a half-pennie sterling; at which value the last of these pieces, with the half of the same in proportion, continued to be commonly paid and received until the general re-coinage of all the hammered money in the year 1696.

“The degrees by which this disproportion increased between the pounds in tale of the two nations, and by which the pound Scottish fell so much faster than the English from its original value, that of a pound weight,

¹⁶ P. 144.

or of twelve ounces of silver, are beside the present purpose to inquire. Yet may it not be improper to take notice that the old pennies of King William I., King Alexander II., and the like, did not sensibly differ from those of their contemporary kings of England before Edward I.; and that, notwithstanding the pennies of Scotland had already, like those of England, lost somewhat of their first weight in the time of our King Edward III., it was not till the twenty-ninth year of that prince that any public notice was taken of the inequality between the moneys of the two nations, and which inequality could not then be very great, since we find that, twenty years after, the groat of Scotland was still allowed to be current in England for three English pennies."

DENOMINATIONS OF COINS.

There are many varieties of milled Scottish coins. Placed in their order of issue they are as follows:—

CHARLES I., 1637. *Gold*.—Unit, or twelve-pound piece; half-unit, or six-pound piece; quarter-unit, or three-pound piece; eighth of unit, or thirty-shilling piece. *Silver*.—Crown, or sixty-shilling piece; half-crown, or thirty-shilling piece; twelve-shilling piece; six-shilling piece.

CHARLES II., 1664—1682. *Silver*.—Four-merk, two-merk, merk, and half-merk pieces, representing respectively 53s. 4d., 26s. 8d., 13s. 4d., and 6s. 8d. Scottish. Dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, eighth of dollar, and sixteenth of dollar, representing respectively the same values—the four-merk piece and the dollar being of the same weight. *Copper*.—Bawbee, or babie, being sixpence Scottish; and Bothwell, or bodle, being twopence.

JAMES VII., 1687—1688. *Silver*.—Sixty-shilling piece (a pattern, not issued, occurring also in gold), forty-shilling piece, ten-shilling piece.

JAMES VIII. (the Elder Pretender), 1716. A pattern for a guinea, or quarter-dollar, occurring in gold, silver, and bronze. A pattern for a sixty-shilling piece, or dollar.

WILLIAM AND MARY, 1691—1694. *Silver*.—Sixty, forty, twenty, ten, and five-shilling pieces. *Copper*.—Bawbee, or sixpence; bodle, or twopence.

WILLIAM II., 1695—1702. *Gold*.—Pistole, or twelve-pound piece; half-pistole, or six-pound piece. *Silver*.—Forty, twenty, ten, and five-shilling pieces. *Copper*.—Bawbee, or sixpence; bodle, or twopence.

ANNE, 1702—1709. *Silver*.—Ten and five-shilling pieces. Besides these, after the complete union between the two countries, which took place on May 1, 1707, were struck at the Edinburgh mint, crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, of the same weight and value as English money.

An inspection of this list will show that no gold was coined between the years 1638 and 1700; that silver was coined almost without break from 1664 to 1707; and that copper was coined in small quantities in the reigns of Charles II., William and Mary, and William II.

Before describing the coins themselves, attention is directed to a fact worthy of notice. Collectors of English coins cannot have failed to observe that portraits on milled coins of one series or type, are *similar*; that is to say that, though they differ in size, they resemble each other in style, feature, and expression. A close examination of this group will show that it is not the case with these pieces. For instance, the portraits on the dollar

and its parts of Charles II., though they bear a certain resemblance to each other, entirely lack the unity which connect say the crown and its parts in the English series. This difference becomes still more noticeable in the William and Mary pieces, in which there are as many different portraits of the king as there are denominations of coins. The same may be said of the William II. pieces, gold as well as silver; while in the two pieces of Anne—though it would be an insult to any artist to describe these worthless productions as portraits at all—they bear no kind of likeness to each other; and, indeed, afford no evidence of their having been executed by the same engraver, which, nevertheless, the Records show to have been the case.

CHARLES I.

By a warrant of the Privy Council, dated 12 January, 1637,¹⁷ Nicholas Briot, Master Coiner to the Edinburgh Mint, was empowered to issue coin by the new process of the mill and screw—or, as it is termed in the warrant, the “milne and presse”—in lieu of the hammer, which, nevertheless, was not yet abolished, since several of the smaller pieces were concurrently struck by the old process.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick states that the mill was actually used for copper turners and half-turners in 1632, and is also of opinion that some of the nobles, half-nobles, and twenty-penny pieces were coined by this method, but I do not possess sufficient information to distinguish these.

The following were the coins struck upon this occasion. They bear no date, but were finished before the termination of the year 1637.

¹⁷ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 55.

GOLD.

1. UNIT, OR TWELVE-POUND PIECE. (C. P. Pl. XIII. No. 4.)

Obv.—Half-length figure of the king to right, crowned, and in armour, bearing a sceptre in the right hand and an orb in the left. CAROLVS · D : G · MAG · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·
 Mm., a thistle-head ; a small B for Briot.

Rev.—A shield of arms, crowned ; on either side the letters **C** and **R**, also crowned. HIS · PRÆSVM ·
 ♦ ♦
 VT · PROSIM ·

Edge plain.

* [Two varieties of this coin exist, both of which are in the cabinet of Mr. Cochran-Patrick : one has the B at the *commencement*, the other at the *end*, of the legend.]

2. HALF UNIT, OR SIX-POUND PIECE. (Pl. XIII. No. 5.)

Obv.—Bust of the king to left, crowned, the drapery coming to the edge of the coin. CAR · D : G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX.
 Under the bust a small B. The inscription runs from the left below.

Rev.—A shield of arms crowned ; on either side the letters **C** and **R**, also crowned. VNITA · TVEMVR ·
 ♦ ♦

Edge plain.

3. QUARTER UNIT, OR THREE-POUND PIECE. (Pl. XIII. No. 6.)

Obv. and *Rev.* similar to the half unit.

Edge plain.

[Mr. Cochran-Patrick possesses a specimen reading FR ·, instead of FRAN ·.]

4. EIGHTH OF UNIT, OR THIRTY-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XIII. No. 7.)

Obv.—Similar to the half-unit.

Rev.—Also similar, but the letters C. R. are not crowned.

Edge plain.

[Two varieties exist, both in the cabinet of Mr. Cochran-Patrick. One has REX ·, and no B on obverse; it occurs, however, on the reverse, above the crown. The other has R · only, with the B as usual.]

SILVER.

1. CROWN, OR SIXTY-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XIII. No. 8.)

Obv.—Figure of the king to left, on horseback and in armour, a drawn sword in his right hand.
CAROLVS · D : G · MAGN · BRITANN ·
FRANC · ET · HIBERN · REX ·. Mm., a
thistle-head; a small B for Briot.

Rev.—An ornamental shield of arms, crowned. QVÆ ·
DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·.
Mm., a thistle-head; a small B.

Edge plain.

2. HALF-CROWN, OR THIRTY-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XIII. No. 9.)

Obv.—Similar to the crown. CAROLVS · D : G ·
MAGN · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·.
Mm., a thistle-head; a small B.

Rev.—Also similar, but the mm. and B precede, do not follow, the legend.

Edge plain. There are many trivial varieties of this coin.

3. TWELVE-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XIII. No. 10.)

Obv.—Bust of the king to left, crowned, very similar to that upon the half-unit, but larger; at the side XII. for the value. CAR · D : G · MAG ·
BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·. A small B.

Rev.—A shield of arms crowned, not so ornamental as the foregoing; at each side C and R crowned.

QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPA-
RET ·. A small B.

Edge plain.

[A variety reads BRITAN · FR ·, and is without the B, but with F over crown. Another, with the same legend, has a thistle-head at the end of the legend on obverse, and also over the crown on reverse. Both are in the cabinet of Mr. Cochran-Patrick.]

4. SIX-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XIII. No. 11.)

Obv.—Similar to the twelve-shilling piece, but VI. at the side.

Rev.—Also similar, but the letter F (for Falconer, master of the Mint) over the crown.

Edge plain.

[Mr. Cochran-Patrick has five varieties, one of which reads SEPAR ·.]

A specimen of each of these coins is in the British Museum.

The value of these pieces, which are by no means uncommon, depends upon their state of preservation. At a sale of Scottish coins, which took place at Edinburgh in April, 1873, a fine unit (152 grs.) realised £3 3s.; another, fine (152 grs.), £2 8s.; an extremely fine half-unit (78 grs.), £4 10s.; a fine eighth of unit (20 grs.), £2 14s.; two crowns went for £1 12s. and £2 respectively. Glancing now at the sale catalogue of Mr. Wingate, in November, 1875, we find that the prices realised for these pieces, all in fine state, were: unit, £3 11s.; half-unit, £4 14s.; quarter-unit, £5 10s.; eighth of unit, £4 15s.; crown and half-crown, £1 8s. At the sale of Major-General Yorke Moore's coins, which took place in April of this year, an extremely fine unit realised £4 16s., a half-unit £4, and an eighth of unit, £2 17s. We are thus assured, from the infrequency of its occurrence, and the high price

commanded, that the quarter-unit is the rarest of Briot's coins.

Between this year and the year 1664 there do not appear to have been any coins struck by the process of the mill and screw, though there were, as before stated, small quantities of the lesser denominations of coins struck by the hammer; such, however, do not fall within the scope of this paper.

We are now about to enter upon a series of coins which were struck with more than one date. In detailing these dates I have invariably quoted the British Museum when assigning my authority for their existence; when describing pieces not in the Museum, I have annexed the name of the possessor or authority for including the same in the list.

Mr. Mackenzie, of Tain, has kindly furnished me with considerable information upon this subject, together with a list of his own Scottish milled coins. I am also much indebted to Mr. Burns, of Edinburgh, for the readiness with which he has given me the benefit of his experience; and to Mr. Cochran-Patrick, who has added many varieties to the list as originally compiled. Lastly, I have quoted Marshall, and in some instances my own cabinet.

CHARLES II.

SILVER.


The first coinage of silver in this reign¹⁸ consisted of four-merk, two-merk, merk, and half-merk pieces, which were current at the rates of 53s. 4d., 26s. 8d., 13s. 4d., and 6s. 8d. Scottish respectively. The puncheons for the same were engraved by the celebrated Thomas Simon

¹⁸ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 153.

(who had produced the matchless coins of the Protectorate), and the dies were sunk by Joachim Harder, of the Scottish mint.

1. FOUR MERKS. (C. P. Pl. XIV. No. 2.)

Obv.—A bold and well-executed bust of the king to right, showing a considerable portion of the body, laureate and in armour. CAROLVS · II · DEI · GRA · Under the bust sometimes a minute thistle, sometimes F; sometimes a thistle over the head.

Rev.—Four shields of arms in the form of a St. Andrew's cross; between the angles the king's monogram, thus, ; in the centre $\frac{\text{LIII}}{4}$, the value of the coin. MAG · BRI · FRA · ET · HIB · REX.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1664 (B.M.); 1664, thistle over head (Mackenzie); 1665 (Wingate); 1670 (Wingate); 1673 (B.M.); 1674 (B.M.); 1674, F (Cochran-Patrick); 1675, F (B.M.).]

2. TWO MERKS. (Pl. XIV. No. 3.)

Obv.—Very similar to the four merks, with same variations.

Rev.—Also similar, but in the centre $\frac{\text{XXVI}}{8}$.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1664, F (Wingate); 1664, thistle over head (Mackenzie); 1670, F (Wingate); 1673 (B.M.); 1673, F (Cochran-Patrick); 1674, F (B.M.); 1675, F (B.M.).]

3. MERK. (Pl. XIV. No. 4.)

Obv.—Very similar to the four merks, with same variations.

Rev.—Also similar, but in the centre $\frac{\text{XIII}}{4}$.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1664 (B.M.); 1664, thistle-head only (Cochran-Patrick); 1665 (B.M.); 1666 (Wingate); 1667 (Wingate); 1668 (Mackenzie); 1669 (B.M.); 1669, without points (Cochran-Patrick); 1670 (B.M.); 1671 (B.M.); 1672 (B.M.); 1673 (B.M.); 1673, BRA instead of BRI (Mackenzie); 1674, F (Wingate); 1675, F (Mackenzie).]

4. HALF MERK. (Pl. XIV. No. 5.)

Obv.—Very similar to the four merks, with same variations.

Rev.—Also similar, but in the centre VI_8 .

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1664 (B.M.); 1665 (Marshall); 1665, arms wrongly quartered (Mackenzie); 1668 (Marshall); 1669 (B.M.); 1670 (B.M.); 1671 (Hoblyn); 1672, DEI: (B.M.); 1673 (Mackenzie); 1675 (B.M.); 1675, F (Perth Museum); 1675, without thistle or F (Hoblyn).]

All these pieces have the thistle below the bust, unless otherwise described.

The four-merk and two-merk pieces are rare, while the merk is common, and the half-merk rather scarce.

The value of these pieces much depends upon their state of preservation. At Mr. Wingate's sale a fine four-merk piece sold for £1 16s., while a very fine two-merk piece realised £2.


By an Act of the Privy Council, dated 25 February, 1675-6,¹⁹ another coinage was ordered, to consist of the dollar and its half, quarter, eighth, and sixteenth, the largest of which was equal to the four-merk piece. The Act is silent as to the engraver, but the general style

¹⁹ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 166.

would warrant the supposition that the pieces are the work of one of the Roettiers, who engraved the concurrent English coins.

1. DOLLAR. (Pl. XIV. No. 6.)


Obv.—A fairly executed bust of the king to left, draped and laureate. CAROLVS · II · · DEI · GRA · .
Under the bust a small F.

Rev.—Four shields of arms cruciformly arranged; in each of the angles a thistle; in the centre the monogram  SCO · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · REX · .

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1676 (B.M.); 1679 (B.M.); 1680 (Wingate); 1681 (Cochran-Patrick); 1682 (B.M.).]

2. HALF DOLLAR. (Pl. XIV. No. 7.)

Obv.—Similar to the dollar. The points are thus, .

Rev.—Also similar; same peculiarity as regards points.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1675 (Hoblyn); 1676 (Wingate); 1681 (B.M.).]

3. QUARTER DOLLAR. (Pl. XIV. No. 8.)

Obv.—Similar to the dollar, but bust differs slightly.

Rev.—Also similar.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1675 (B.M.); 1676 (B.M.); 1677 (B.M.); 1678 (Wingate); 1679 (Mackenzie); 1680 (Hoblyn); 1681 (B.M.); 1682 (Mackenzie); 1682, reading CAROVLS (Mackenzie).]

4. EIGHTH OF DOLLAR. (Pl. XIV. No. 9.)

Obv.—Similar to the dollar; the bust differs.

Rev.—Also similar.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1676 (B.M.); 1677 (B.M.); 1679 (Wingate); 1680 (B.M.); 1681 (Wingate); 1682 (Wingate); 1682 (*sic*) Mackenzie).]

5. SIXTEENTH OF DOLLAR. (Pl. XIV. No. 10.)

Obv.—Similar to the dollar.

Rev.—A St. Andrew's cross; in the angles a thistle, rose, fleur-de-lys, and harp. SCO · ANG · FRA · ET · HIB · REX ·.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1677 (B.M.); 1678 (B.M.); 1679 (B.M.); 1680 (B.M.); 1681 (B.M.).]

The dollar is scarce, so are the quarter and sixteenth; the half-dollar is extremely rare, while the quarter is common.

Wingate's dollar and half, both very fine, realised together £8 8s. In the sale catalogue of coins at Edinburgh, previously adverted to, a fine dollar brought £1 4s.

COPPER.

By an Act of the Privy Council, dated 25 February, 1677-8,²⁰ the coining of sixpenny and twopenny pieces of copper was authorised.

1. BAWBEE, OR SIXPENCE, (Pl. XIV. No. 11.)

Obv.—Bust of the king to left, from the puncheon of the quarter dollar. CAR · II · D · G · SCO · ANG · [AN ·] FRA · [FR ·] ET · HIB · REX · [R ·].

Rev.—A large two-leaved thistle, crowned. NEMO · ME · IMPVNE · LACESSET ·.

²⁰ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 169.

Edge plain.

[The following are the dates :—1677 (B.M.) ; 1678 (B.M.) ; 1679 (B.M.). The obverse of the 1677 coins presents three different readings—(1) SCO · ANG · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · ; (2) SCO · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R · ; (3) SCO · AN · FR · ET · HIB · R · ; all three of which are in the cabinets of Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Cochran-Patrick. On one belonging to the latter gentleman ANG is separated by the head thus—A NG.]

2. BOTHWELL, BODLE, OR TWOPENCE. (Pl. XIV. No. 12.)

Obv.—A sword and sceptre crossed under a large crown.
CAR · II · D · G · SCO · ANG · FRA · ET ·
HIB · REX ·

Rev.—A two-leaved thistle. NEMO · ME · IMPVNE ·
LACESSET ·

Edge plain.

[The following are the dates :—1677 (B.M.) ; 1678 (Mackenzie).]

Both the bawbee and bodle are common. The bodle of 1678, in the possession of Messrs. Mackenzie and Cochran-Patrick, is of a hitherto unpublished date.

JAMES VII.

By an Act of the second session of the first Scottish Parliament, dated 14 June, 1686,²¹ authority was given for the coinage of pieces of sixty, forty, twenty, ten, and five shillings. It does not appear, however, that any other pieces were issued than those of forty and ten shillings, though dies were prepared for the sixty-shilling piece, which were struck in the year 1828 as patterns, to the

²¹ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 208.

number of sixty only. The twenty and five-shilling pieces did not appear.

1. SIXTY-SHILLING PIECE (PATTERN).²² (Pl. V. No. 1.)

Obv.—Bust of the king to right, draped and laureate.
IACOBVS · II · DEI · GRATIA · Under the bust 60.

Rev.—Ornamental shield of arms, crowned, and surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Thistle.
MAG · BR · FRA ET · HIB · REX · 1688 · (M.B.).

Edge plain.



[Mr. Cochran-Patrick has a specimen in gold, of which it is said only three were struck].

2. FORTY-SHILLING PIECE. (C. P. Pl. XV. No. 1.)

Obv.—Similar to the sixty-shilling piece; the king's name, however, is written IACOBUS; under the bust : 40 ·.

Rev.—Ornamental shield of arms, but larger than the foregoing. MAG · BRIT · FRA · ET · HIB · REX ·.

Edge inscribed NEMO · ME · IMPVNE ·
LACESSET ∴ ANNO · REGNI · TERTIO
[QVARTO, QVINTO] · ⊙ ∴.

[The dates are as follows:—1687, TERTIO (Burns); 1687, LACESSIET (*sic*) and TERTIO  (Cochran-Patrick); 1687, QVARTO ·  · (B.M.); 1687, QVINTO (Lindsay); 1688, QVARTO (B.M.); 1688, QVINTO (Lindsay).]

3. TEN-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XV., No. 2.)

Obv.—Similar to the sixty-shilling piece; under the bust · 10 ·.

²² Marshall's "View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Great Britain," London, 1838, p. 142.

Rev.—A St. Andrew's cross, tipped with the thistle, rose, fleur-de-lys, and harp; in the angles the four crowned shields of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland. MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REX ·

Edge milled with diagonal straight lines.

[The dates are as follows:—1687 (B.M.); 1688 (B.M.).]

The forty-shilling piece is scarce, but the ten-shilling piece is comparatively common.

In the sale at Edinburgh in 1875, the forty and ten shillings together realised 14s. The pattern sixty-shilling piece is very rare, only sixty impressions having been struck by Mr. Matthew Young in the year 1828. Wingate's, very fine, sold for £2 2s., and is in my possession; Major Yorke Moore's, £3 5s.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

SILVER.

On the 26th of September, 1690,²³ a warrant was granted by their majesties for coining pieces of sixty, forty, twenty, ten, and five shillings, all of which were accordingly struck.

1. SIXTY-SHILLING PIECE. (C. P. Pl. XV. No. 3.)

Obv.—Busts of the king and queen to left, draped; that of the king laureate. GVLIELMVS · ET · MARIA · DEI · GRA · Under the busts 60.

Rev.—An ornamental shield of arms, crowned. MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX · ET · REGINA ·

Edge inscribed PROTEGIT · ET · ORNAT · · ANNO · REGNI · TERTIO · ·

[The dates are as follows:—1691 (Wingate); 1692 (B.M.).]

²³ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 226.

2. FORTY-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XV. No. 4.)

Obv.—Similar to the sixty-shilling piece. GVLIELMVS · ET · MARIA · DEI · GRATIA ·. Under the busts 40.

Rev.—Also similar.

Edge inscribed PROTEGIT · ET · ORNAT · · ANNO · REGNI · PRIMO [or SECVNDO · TERTIO · QVARTO · SEXTO · or SIXTO].

[The dates are as follows:—1690, PRIMO (Mackenzie); 1690, SECVNDO (Cochran-Patrick); 1691, SECVNDO (Mackenzie); 1691, TERTIO (B.M.); 1692, QVARTO (B.M.); 1693, QVARTO (Lindsay); 1693, SEXTO (B.M.); 1693, SIXTO (Hoblyn); 1694, SIXTO (Cochran-Patrick).]

3. TWENTY-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XV. No. 5.)

Obv.—Similar to the forty-shilling piece; under the busts 20.

Rev.—Also similar.

Edge milled with diagonal straight lines.

[The dates are as follows:—1691 (Wingate), very doubtful; 1693, two trifling varieties (B.M.); 1694 (Wingate). Mr. Cochran-Patrick is of opinion that the latter piece was certainly struck, but he has not seen a specimen. The records, however, show that between 5th January and 5th December, 1694-5, 5,369 shilling pieces were struck.]

4. TEN-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XV. No. 6.)

Obv.—Nearly similar to the forty-shilling piece; under the busts 10.


Rev.—Also similar.

Edge milled with diagonal straight lines.

[The dates are as follows:—1690, small shield (B.M.); 1691, large shield, DEI · GRA · (B.M.); 1691, DEI · GRA · (Mackenzie); 1692 (B.M.); 1694 (Cochran-Patrick).]

5. FIVE-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XV. No. 7.)

Obv.—Similar to the sixty-shilling piece; under the busts V.

Rev.—The royal cipher, thus , crowned. MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX · ET · REGINA ·.

Edge milled with diagonal straight lines.


[The dates are as follows:—1691, V in reverse (B.M.); 1694, V in obverse (B.M.).]

The sixty, forty, ten, and five-shilling pieces are all scarce, but the twenty-shilling piece is extremely rare; the same may be said of the five-shilling piece of 1691.

COPPER.

Copper being required, a coinage of sixpenny and two-penny pieces was ordered by an Act of the Privy Council dated the 18th of August, 1691.²⁴ The bawbee is here termed the “halfpenny sterling.”

1. BAWBEE. (Pl. XV. No. 8.)

Obv.—Busts of the king and queen, from the puncheon of the ten-shilling piece. Inscription, running round the coin from the top, GVL · ET · MAR · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX · ET · REGINA · ∴ [ × ++.]

Rev.—A large two-leaved thistle, crowned, as on the bawbee of Charles II. NEMO · ME · IMPVNE · LACESSET ·.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1691 (B.M.); 1692 (B.M.); 1693 (B.M.); 1694 (Hoblyn).]

2. BODLE. (Pl. XV. No. 9.)

Obv.—The royal cipher, somewhat resembling that on the five-shilling piece, crowned. D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX · ET · REGINA ·.

²⁴ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 236.

Rev.—A two-leaved thistle, crowned. NEMO · ME ·
IMPVNE · LACESSET ·.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows :—1691 (B.M.) ;
1692 (B.M.) ; 1693 (B.M.) ; 1694 (B.M.).]

The bawbees are rare, especially when in fine condition, but the bodles are common.

WILLIAM II.

GOLD.

There had been no gold coined for Scotland since the year 1637,²⁵ but on the 14th of August, 1700, an Act of the Privy Council, in favour of the African and Indian Company, sanctioned the striking of twelve and six-pound pieces from a quantity of gold-dust brought by the company from the coast of Africa. A further Act, dated 6 January, 1701,²⁶ empowered one James Clark to make the puncheons. Folkes says that the gold was “sent over by the Scottish African Company, from the colony of Darien in the West Indies, and to have been thus marked (with the figure of the rising sun) in memory of the *Rising Sun*, a great ship fitted out by those merchants upon that occasion, and in which this gold was brought home.” Whether this is so or not, it is certain that the rising sun was the crest of the company, authorised to be used upon the coins by a warrant of the Privy Council, dated 18 July, 1700. The coins themselves were struck bearing the date of 1701 only, and were termed pistoles and half-pistoles.

²⁵ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 275.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

1. PISTOLE, OR TWELVE-POUND PIECE. (C. P. Pl. XVI. No. 3.)

Obv.—Bust of the king to left, undraped, laureate, and with long hair. GVLIELMVS · DEI · GRATIA · Under the bust the sun rising from the horizon of the sea.

Rev.—An ornamental shield of arms, crowned; on either side the letters W and R, also crowned. MAG · BRIT · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · 1701 · (B.M.).

Edge milled with diagonal lines, like a rope.

2. HALF PISTOLE, OR SIX-POUND PIECE. (Pl. XVI. No. 4.)

Obv.—Very similar in style to the pistole; the sea is scarcely, if at all, visible.

Rev.—Also similar. 1701 (B.M.).

Edge also similar.

These coins are both rare. At the Ferguson sale, 1851, a specimen of each realised £1 1s. and £1 13s. respectively; Cuff's, 1854, £1 19s. and (2) £1 2s. 6d.; Lindsay's, 1867, £3 5s. and £3 12s. 6d.; Wingate's, 1875, £5 7s. 6d. and £4 11s.; Edinburgh sale, 1873, half-pistole, £4 5s.; Yorke Moore's, 1879, £2 10s. and £3 4s.

SILVER.

On the 10th of December, 1695,²⁷ an order was issued for coining sixty stone of bullion into pieces of forty, twenty, ten, and five shillings, of which the forty-shilling pieces had been already "milled," but were "not yet past his Majesties irons." There are no records to show that a sixty-shilling piece was ever struck, or even ordered to be struck; nevertheless, this fabulous piece is figured in the works of Anderson, Cardonnel, Snelling, Folkes, and

²⁷ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 253.

Lindsay, with, in one instance, the date 1699. No such coin, however, is known by modern collectors, though Mr. Lindsay held to the belief that a specimen existed in some cabinet in the north of Scotland.

1. FORTY-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XV. No. 10.)

Obv.—Bust of the king to left, draped and laureate.
GVLIELMVS · DEI · GRATIA. Under the bust 40.

Rev.—An ornamental shield of arms, crowned. MAG · BRIT · FRA · ET · HIB · REX ·.

Edge inscribed PROTEGIT · ET · ORNAT · · ANNO · REGNI · SEPTIMO [OCTAVO NONO · or DECIMO].

[The dates are as follows :—1695, SEPTIMO (B.M.) ; 1695, OCTAVO (Mackenzie) ; 1696 OCTAVO (B.M.) ; 1697, NONO (B.M.) ; 1698, DECIMO (Hoblyn) ; 1699 (Lindsay).]

2. TWENTY-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XV. No. 11.)

Obv.—A bust somewhat similar to the foregoing, but of inferior execution ; under the bust 20.

Rev.—Also similar.

Edge milled with diagonal straight lines.

[The dates are as follows :—1695 (B.M.) ; 1696 (B.M.) ; 1697 (B.M.) ; 1698 (B.M.) ; 1699 (Cochran-Patrick).]

3. TEN-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XV. No. 12.)

Obv.—A bust differing slightly from any of the others ; under the bust 10.

Rev.—Similar to the forty-shilling piece.

Edge milled with diagonal straight lines.

[The dates are as follows :—1695 (B.M.) ; 1696 (B.M.) ; 1697 (B.M.) ; 1698 (B.M.) ; 1699 (Hoblyn).]

4. FIVE-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XV. No 13.)

Obv.—A bust very similar to that on the half pistole, but draped. GVL · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · & HIB · REX ·, or GVLIELMVS · DEI · GRATIA ·. Under the bust 5.

Rev.—A two-leaved triple thistle, crowned. NEMO · ME · IMPVNE · LACESSET ·.

Edge milled with diagonal straight lines.

[The dates are as follows:—1695 (B.M.); 1696 (B.M.); 1697 (B.M.); 1699 (B.M.); 1700 (Mackenzie); 1700, annulets instead of points (Cochran-Patrick); 1701 (Marshall); 1702, GVLIELMVS, &c. (Hoblyn).]

These pieces are all scarce, the forty-shilling piece being that most commonly met with. The five-shilling piece dated 1702 is very rare.

COPPER.

By an act of the Scottish Parliament, dated the 6th of October, 1696,²⁸ a coinage of sixpenny and twopenny pieces was authorised, “not exceeding three thousand stones of copper in the space of six yeires.”

1. BAWBEE. (Pl. XVI. No. 1.)

Obv.—Bust of the king from the puncheon of the ten-shilling piece, the inscription running from the bottom round the coin. GVL · D · G · MAG · BR · (or BRIT ·) FR · (or FRA ·) ET · HIB · REX ·.

Rev.—A two-leaved thistle, crowned. NEMO · ME · IMPVNE · LACESSET ·.

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1695, BR · FR · (B.M.); 1695, BRIT · FRA · (Mackenzie); 1696, BRIT · FRA · (B.M.); 1697 (Wingate).]

²⁸ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 241.

2. BODLE. (Pl. XVI. No. 2.)

Obv.—(1.) A sword and sceptre crossing each other at right angles; in the upper angle a crown.
 GVL · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB ·
 REX · (2.) A sword and sceptre crossing each other at a less angle, surmounted by a crown.
 GVLIELMVS · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET ·
 HIB · REX ·

Rev.—A two-leaved thistle, crowned. NEMO · ME ·
 IMPVNE · LACESSET ·

Edge plain.

[The dates are as follows:—1695, GVL (B.M.); 1695, GVLIELMVS (B.M.); 1696, GVL. (Cochran-Patrick); 1696, GVLIELMVS (B.M.); 1697, GVL. (Cochran-Patrick); 1697, GVLIELMVS (B.M.).]

The bawbee is very rare, especially when in a fine state of preservation. The bodle is common, with the exception of that with GVLIELMVS in full, which is rare.

ANNE.

The only coins struck before the union were pieces of ten and five shillings;²⁹ and by a warrant of the Privy Council, dated the 11th of January, 1705, James Clark, engraver to the mint, was ordered to “cutt and make mattresses, punsions, and dyes” for the same. The coining was ordered to proceed at once as regards the ten-shilling piece;³⁰ nothing further, however, transpires about the five-shilling piece. It appears clear that no ten-shilling pieces of the year 1702 can have been coined; this date, nevertheless, is given by Lindsay, and copied by Wingate: I have, therefore, included it for what it is worth.

²⁹ Cochran-Patrick, vol. ii. p. 289.

³⁰ Ibidem.

1. TEN-SHILLING PIECE. (C. P. Pl. XVI. No. 5.)

Obv.—An uncouth bust of the queen to left, in rude imitation of the English shilling, with something possibly intended to represent a curl, falling over the right shoulder. ANNA · DEI · GRATIA ·. Under the bust 10; in the breast a minute thistle.

Rev.—An ornamental shield of arms, crowned. MAG · BRIT · FRA · ET · HIB · REG · (or REGINA ·).

Edge milled with diagonal straight lines.

[The dates are as follows:—1705 (B.M.); 1706 (B.M.); 1706, REGINA (Mackenzie).]

2. FIVE-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. XVI. Nos. 6 and 7.)

Obv.—A very rude bust of the queen to left, differing from the foregoing, and equally destitute of merit as a portrait. ⁽¹⁾ANNA · DEI · G ·. ⁽²⁾ANNA · D · G · M · BR · FR · & HIB · REG ·. ⁽³⁾AN · D · G · M · BR · FR · & HIB · REG ·. ⁽⁴⁾AN · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · & HIB · R ·. Under the bust 5; in the breast a minute thistle.

Rev.—A two-leaved triple thistle, crowned. NEMO · ME · IMPVNE · LACESSET ·.

Edge milled with diagonal straight lines.

[The dates are as follows:—⁽¹⁾1705 (B.M.); ⁽²⁾1705 (Mackenzie); ⁽³⁾1705 (Mackenzie); ⁽⁴⁾1705 (Hoblyn); one of these four is in the Brit. Mus.; ⁽²⁾1706 (Hoblyn); 1707 (Lindsay).]

The ten-shilling pieces are scarce, but all the varieties of the five-shilling piece are to be frequently met with.

The Act of Union was carried through the English Parliament, and received the royal assent on the 6th of March, 1707, and the first Parliament of Great Britain met on the 23rd of October, 1707. The separate coinage for Scotland was, therefore, abolished, and the Edinburgh mint ceased to exist.

But before the abolition of the Edinburgh mint, the old Scottish silver was called in, melted, and recoinced into crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, during the years 1707, 1708, and 1709, which were distinguished from the Tower coins by the letter E, for Edinburgh, which was placed under the bust. Upon this subject I have communicated a paper to the Society,³¹ in which all the pieces are described; repetition would, therefore, be needless.

It appears that the coin brought into the Edinburgh mint to be melted and recoinced was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
1707. Foreign money . . .	132,080	17	0
Milled Scottish money . . .	96,856	13	9
Hammered „ . . .	142,180	0	0
English money . . .	40,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£411,117	10	9
1708. Supplementary . . .	375,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total . . .	£786,117	10	9

JAMES VIII. (the Elder Pretender).

It may not be out of place to draw attention to some highly interesting pieces of James Edward, the Elder Pretender. This prince, who was termed the Chevalier de St. George, issued on the 29th of August, 1715, a manifesto asserting his right to the English crown. Dies for a crown piece, dated 1709, had been prepared, but only one specimen is known to exist. On the 16th January, 1716, however, the Chevalier made a public entry into Dundee, whence he proceeded to Scone, performed several

³¹ "The Edinburgh Coinage of Queen Anne," "Num. Chron.," N.S. vol. xix. p. 138.

acts of state, and appointed the 23rd of January for his coronation. Had the insurrection been successful, there is no doubt that the pieces now described, dies for which had been prepared in 1716, would have been struck. But fate ordained otherwise; James fled to France, taking the dies with him (excepting those of the crown of 1709), and in the year 1828 they came into the possession of Mr. Matthew Young, of Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, by whom, after much deliberation, the dies were cleaned, and impressions to the number of sixty of each of the larger pieces, and twenty of the smaller, were struck as patterns. The dies were then defaced by Mr. Young, and deposited in the British Museum.

The crown (Pl. V. No. 3) which describes the Chevalier as "James III., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland," is unique, the original being in the British Museum, by which institution it was purchased from the Wigan Collection.

1. CROWN. (Pl. V. No. 3.)

Obv.—A finely executed bust of the Pretender to right.
IACOBVS · III · DEI · GRATIA ·

Rev.—An oval shield of arms, crowned. MAG · BRI ·
FRAN · ET · HIB · REX · 1709 (B.M.).

Edge plain.

2. PATTERN SHILLING, OR GUINEA. (Pl. V. No. 2.)

Obv.—Very youthful bust of the Pretender to left, laureate. IACOBVS TERTIVS.

Rev.—Four crowned shields, cruciformly arranged; in the angles four sceptres, tipped with the thistle, orb, fleur-de-lys, and harp. SCO · AN · FRA ·
ET · HIB · REX · 1716 (B.M.).

Edge plain.

3. PATTERN DOLLAR, OR SIXTY-SHILLING PIECE. (Pl. V. No. 5.)

Obv.—Similar to the crown, being from the same puncheon.
IACOBVS · VIII · DEI · GRATIA ·

Rev.—Large shield of arms, crowned. SCOT · ANGL ·
FRAN · ET · HIB · REX · 1716 (B.M.).

Edge plain.

4. PATTERN SHILLING, OR QUARTER DOLLAR. (Pl. V. No. 4.)

Obv.—A bust somewhat resembling the foregoing to left,
laureate. JACOBVS · VIII · DEI · GRATIA ·

Rev.—Similar to the pattern guinea, or shilling, with the
addition of a two-leaved thistle in the centre.
SCO · AN · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · 1716
(B.M.)

Edge plain.

No. 1, as has been before stated, is unique. Nos. 2, 3, and 4, together with the pattern sixty-shilling piece of James VII. (see p. 124), were struck for the first time from the cleaned and repaired dies by Mr. Matthew Young, in the year 1828. No. 2 exists in silver and bronzed copper. No. 3 exists in gold, silver, white metal, and, I think, bronze. No. 4 exists in gold, silver, and bronze. All, however, but the silver proofs are of extreme rarity, and the bronze proofs (formerly in the possession of the late Mr. W. H. Johnston) are probably unique. All these coins bear considerable evidence of the cleaning and mending of the dies, and especially No. 2, the *obv.* die of which must have been in a state of great decay.

At Wingate's sale Nos. 3 and 4 realised together £4 10s.

In my cabinet is a fine electrotype of No. 1.

RICHARD A. HOBLYN.

XI.

THE EDINBURGH COINAGE OF QUEEN ANNE :

- 1707—1709.

IN exhibiting to the Society, on behalf of Mr. George Wakeford, of Maidstone, an unpublished half-crown of the Edinburgh Mint, bearing the date 1709, together with a complete set of the other pieces on my own behalf, a few remarks upon this coinage may be worthy of record.

During the years 1705 and 1706 the pieces coined were of ten and five shillings only, of Scottish money, answering to the value of about an equal number of pence in English money. The union of the kingdoms took place in the year 1707, and by a warrant of the Queen to the Master of the Mint, dated Windsor Castle, 20th June, 1707, which will be found at length in Cochran-Patrick's "Records of the Coinage of Scotland" (vol. ii. p. 309), it was ordered that the silver imported into the mint at Edinburgh was to be coined into crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, in the proportions of $\frac{2}{10}$, $\frac{3}{10}$, $\frac{4}{10}$, and $\frac{1}{10}$ respectively, of the total quantity brought in. According to this warrant, the dies were to be exactly like those used in the Tower Mint at London: such, however, was not actually the case, since the likeness of the Queen on one type of the crown and two types of the shilling differs, though not materially, from the Tower

coins. No difference can be detected on the half-crown and sixpence.

The distinguishing mark of this coinage was the initial E, for Edinburgh, which letter was placed under the bust, as directed by the warrant previously adverted to; in all other respects the coins agreed with those struck at the Tower. An addition of a star of five points was subsequently made, to indicate a supplementary coinage.

The following is a description of the coins themselves :—

CROWNS.

1707 E (Brit. Mus.).

1708 E (Brit. Mus.).

No other crowns are known, but Ruding figures one with E* (pl. xxxviii. 13). It may be fairly assumed that the author, having seen complete sets of 1707 and 1708 with E, and a shilling and sixpence with E*, conjectured that the larger coins were in existence, and figured them without further proof.

HALF-CROWNS.

1707 E (Brit. Mus.).

1708 E (Brit. Mus.).

1709 E (Wakeford).

Ruding figures a half-crown with E* (pl. xxxviii. 14), to which the same remark applies as above. Taking into account, however, the fact that the piece now exhibited has never hitherto been published, there may be a possibility of the existence of the crown and half-crown E* in some obscure cabinet.

I was first informed of the existence of the half-crown 1709 E by Mr. Burns, of Edinburgh, a gentleman well known to the numismatic world, and of no slight repute

for his extensive knowledge of Scottish numismatics ; and I have now been favoured with a sight of the coin in the specimen exhibited. It will be noticed that a scratch occurs in the date, unfortunately right across the 9 ; a close examination will, however, clearly show that it *is* a 9 and no other figure, since it could not be either 7 or 8. Examination of the other pieces will, moreover, reveal a scratch or a blur upon nearly every date.

SHILLINGS.

1707 E (Brit. Mus.). There are two portraits upon the shilling of this type, of the earlier of which proofs exist, of extreme rarity.

1707 E* (Brit. Mus.). There are two or three slight variations of this coin, which is very rare.

1708 E (Brit. Mus.).

1708 E* (Brit. Mus.). Three or four styles of portrait occur upon this coin, distinguished chiefly by the disposition of the small curls on the top of the Queen's head.

1709 E* (Brit. Mus.). This coin is rare, particularly when in fine preservation. The star is so minute, and so faintly struck, as to be on some specimens scarcely visible. Indeed, Mr. Wakeford showed me last year a shilling which he pronounced to be of an unpublished type—namely, 1709 E, *without the star*. Very careful inspection, however, with a powerful glass, revealed the existence of the (to us most unwelcome) star, very faintly struck, and apparently partly erased ; and, although even then the coin was rare, the result was rather disappointing.

SIXPENCES.

1707 E (Brit. Mus.). Of this coin, like the shilling, proofs exist ; also of great rarity.

1708 E (Hoblyn, Wakeford). This coin is very rare.

1708 E* (Brit. Mus.).

A sixpence in my cabinet is dated 1707, and after the E is a spot, somewhat resembling a star; I cannot, however, conscientiously declare it to be one, being satisfied that it is a small flaw. Collectors will, no doubt, agree with me, that the flaw occurs in an awkward place.

In the sale catalogue of the Rev. Henry Christmas's coins is a sixpence dated 1709 E*; in the absence, however, of any further proof of its existence, and noticing the careless way in which the catalogue was compiled, I am induced to pass it over as an error of description, or of the printer.

A tabular arrangement of the series of coins may present them in a somewhat clearer light to the collector :—

Date and Type.	Crown.	Half-crown.	Shilling.	Sixpence.
1707 E	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.
1707 E *			(varieties) B.M.	
1708 E	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	{ HOBLYN.
1708 E *	(varieties)		B.M.	{ WAKEFORD.
1709 E			(varieties)	B.M.
1709 E *		WAKEFORD.	B.M.	

RICHARD A. HOBLYN.

XII.

NOTES TOWARDS A METALLIC HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

No. IV.

MEDALS, ETC., RELATING TO THE RISING IN '45.

No event in Scottish history has produced such a number and variety of medals as the Battle of Culloden and the events of the rising in 1745. They occur in every degree of excellence, from the finished productions of Yeo to the coarsest work it is possible to conceive.

I am very desirous of having as complete a catalogue of the various varieties as possible, and should be exceedingly obliged to any member of the Society who can add any to the following list.

MEDALS BY YEO.

Oval medal with pierced loop.

1. *Obv.*—Head of the Duke of Cumberland to right.

CUMBERLAND above the head.

YEO · F in left-hand corner.

Rev.—Nude Apollo regarding the Python of Rebellion.

ACTUM · EST ILICET · PERIIT.

In exergue—

PRÆL · COLOD · AP · XVI
MDCCXLVI

Size, $2\frac{1}{10}$ inch. = 54^m × $1\frac{6}{10}$ inch = 38^m .

Metal, N., R., Æ.

Cabinets, MB. in N. and Æ.; Hunterian, Æ.; in my own collection R. and Æ.

This very rare medal has been noticed and described by Mr. Henfrey ("Num. Chron.," vol. xv. N.S. p. 91). All the bronze specimens that I have seen have the loop unpierced. See Pl. VI. Fig. 1.

2. Another medal by Yeo was also struck on this occasion :—

Obv.—Bust of the Duke of Cumberland to right in armour, with lion's skin across the breast.

GULIELMUS · GEOR · II · R · FIL · DUX ·
CUMBRIÆ

Across the arm, in small letters, R · YEO · F

Rev.—Rebellion crushed by Hercules, in the likeness of the Duke, who is reassuring Britannia.

In exergue—

PERDVELLIB · EX · ANG · FVGAT ·
AD · CULLOD · DEBELLAT
16 · APR · 1746 ·

Size, 2 inch. = 51^m .

Metal, N., R., Æ.

Cabinets, MB., &c.

This medal has also been noticed and described by Mr. Henfrey ("Num. Chron.," vol. xv. p. 91), who has given an interesting extract from the "London Gazette" of 1746, containing the original proposals for striking it.

MEDALS BY WOLFF.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of the Duke of Cumberland to left, with order and star.

Above the head—

GUL : DUX · CUMBRIÆ

On scroll below—

PRO · PATRIA. NA : XV. AP : MDCCXXI

Across the arm—WOLFF. F.

Rev.—View of the battle.

Above it—

HORÆ · MOMENTO ·

In exergue—

COMPRESSUS · FUROR · CIVILIS
AD · CULLODEN · APP : XVI
MDCCXLVI.

Size, $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{8}$ inch. = 42^m. *Metal*, Æ.

Cabinets, common.

2(a). *Obv.*—Bust of Duke of Cumberland to right.

GUL : DUX · CUMB : DELICLÆ · MILITUM

On scroll below—

NATVS · 15 · APR : 1721.

Across the arm—WOLFF.

Rev.—Armed figure pursuing a hydra ; town and castle
(? of Carlisle) in the distance.

PRO · PATRE · ET · PATRIA

In exergue—

REB : EX · ANG · PUL : LT (*sic*)
CARL : REDACTUM
DEC : 1745.

Size, $1\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{8}$ inch. = 37^m. *Metal*, Æ., Æ.

Cabinets, common.

In MB there are two varieties :—(1) exergue, PULLSI
(*sic*) : &, and (2) PUL : ET. ; both Æ.

MEDAL BY M. HOLTZHEY.

Obv.—Bust of Duke of Cumberland to right, in armour.

GUIL · CYMBERL · DVX EXERCIT · M ·
BRIT · IMP.

Across the arm, M HOLTZHEY FEC. in two lines.

Rev.—Fame crowning the duke, standing on a prostrate figure, two others supplicating; view of the field of Culloden and Inverness in distance.

RESTITVTORI QVIETIS.

Below—

REBELL : AD INNERNIVM
DEVICT . MDCCXLVI.

Size, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. = 42^m. *Metal*, R.

Cabinets, MB., Soc. Ant. Scot., and author.

Pl. VI. Fig. 2.

A variety in the MB has different bust, of worse execution, not dividing legend nor with artist's name. Reverse same.

MEDALS BY PINGO.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of duke, bareheaded, to right, in armour, with sash.

GVLIELMVS · DVX · CYMBRIÆ.

Across the arm—

T . PINGO . F.

Rev.—A lion overcoming a wolf.

IVSTITIA · TRIUMPHANS.

In exergue—

MDCCXLV.

Size, $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch. = 33^m. *Metal*, R., Æ.

Cabinets, common.

Some of the specimens in bronze show flaws in the reverse die. From the same obverse the metallic tickets for the Duke of Cumberland's theatre, with BOX, GALLERY, &c., were struck.

2. *Obv.*—Minerva, with spear and shield, aiming at giants on the ground; Jupiter in the clouds.

QVID CONTRA SONANTEM PALLADIS ÆGIDA
POSSVNT RVENTES.

In exergue—

T. PINGO . F.

Rev.—Duke on horseback, reviewing infantry.

PRO CÆSARE PRO ARIS & FOCIS.

In exergue—

NOVR. IV. MDCCXLV.

MEDALS BY THE KIRKS.

1. *Obv.*—Bust, bareheaded and nearly full face, with mantle, ribbon, and star.

GUL : AUG : DUX CUMBRIÆ.

Across the left arm—

I · KIRK · F

Rev.—The duke on horseback, trampling on a prostrate three-headed figure, representing Scotland, France, and Papacy : battle in the distance.

PER · MAGNANIMITATEM · ET · DUCTUM

In exergue—

SCO : REB : EXPUGNAVIT ·

PALUD · CULLODEN · 16

AP · MDCCXLVI.

KIRK · F in right-hand corner.

Size, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. = 42^m.

Metal, *Ar.*

Cabinets, common.

A variety has no star on the breast. MB. (Bank collection *Ar.*, *Æ.*); author *Æ.*

2. *Obv.*—Bust, with cocked hat, nearly full face, in costume of the period, wearing star, ribbon, and order.

GUL : AUG : DUX CUMBRIÆ ·

Across left arm—

I · KIRK · F

Rev.—The king receiving the duke on his return from Scotland.

QUID NON PRO PATRIA on a scroll on left side.

In exergue—

ANG : LIB : REB :
MDCCXLV.

I · KIRK · F · below dais.

Size, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. = 42^m. *Metal*, \mathcal{A} ., $\mathcal{Æ}$.

Cabinets, common.

3. *Obv.*—Bust of duke, bareheaded, to right, with lion-skin and badge of the George.

GULIELMUS · DUX · CUMBRLE ·

Across right arm—

I · KIRK · F

Rev.—Fame flying over the world, proclaiming the victories of the duke, and holding a laurel wreath.

INSULA · CHARA · DEIS · HEROUM ·
INCLYTA · MATER.

In exergue—

16 · AP · J · DIE · 26 · ANNI $\mathcal{Æ}$ T · SU $\mathcal{Æ}$
REB · CULLODENICIS · CAMPIS
DOMUIT · VIGILANTIA
SUA · MDCCXLVI.

A · KIRK · F. below the globe.

[The reverse is by another member of this family.]

Size, $1\frac{2}{5}$ inch. = 31·5^m. *Metal*, \mathcal{A} . and $\mathcal{Æ}$.

Cabinets, common.

A variety has the bust to the left and head laureate and
GVLIEL : DVX : CVMBRI $\mathcal{Æ}$ CONSERV : PATRI $\mathcal{Æ}$.
A KIRK across the arm.

4. *Obv.*—The duke on horseback, with drawn sword; a castle in the distance.

GUL : AUG : DUX CUMBERLANDL $\mathcal{Æ}$

In exergue—

NAT · 15 · APR · 1721.

Below it—

A · KIRK · F.

Rev.—The duke, habited as a Roman soldier, presenting the olive-branch of peace to Britannia and trampling on Revolution as a prostrate figure with broken sword and tiara on shield.

SPEM REDUCIS MENTIBUS ANXIIS.

In exergue, MDCCXLV ; below, I · KIRK · F ; an open book behind seated figure, BIBLIA SACRA.

Size, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. = 35^m.

Metal, Æ.

Cabinets, common.

5. *Obv.*—The duke's bust, nearly full-faced, to left.

GULIELMUS · AUG : DUX · CUMBRÆ.

Across arm—

A · KIRK · F.

Rev.—The same reverse as No. 2.

Size, $1\frac{2}{5}$ inch. = 40^m.

Metal, Æ.

Cabinets, author.

MEDAL OR BADGE, ARTIST UNKNOWN.

Obv.—The duke on horseback to right ; in the background the battle of Culloden.

GUL : AUG : DUX · CUM : TERROR · REB ·

In exergue, →1746← ; below it, 16.

Rev.—Plain.

Size, oval, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. = 47^m. × $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. = 34^m.

Metal, Æ.

Cabinets, MB., author.

Pl. VI. Fig. 3.

This has been intended for a badge for wearing, as it has a loop at the top.

The following medals are struck in the rudest style, and without the artists' name, though in many cases the designs on the foregoing specimens have been adopted. They are all in the author's collection.

1. *Obv.*—The duke on horseback, with drawn sword.

WILL DUKE CUMBERLAND

In exergue—

BORN 15 AP. 1721.

Rev.—Rude representation of the battlefield, with Scots flying.

REBELLION · JUSTLY · REWARDED

In exergue—

CULLODEN 16 AP ·

1746

Size, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. = 42·5^m. *Metal*, Æ. and pewter.

Two varieties of this exist, differing in the arrangement of the soldiers, &c., on the field. One is smaller in size.

2. *Obv.*—Bust, bareheaded, to right.

WILL : DUKE · CUMB · BRITISH · HERO.

In scroll below bust—

BORN · 15 · APR : 1721

Rev.—Similar to Wolff's (No. 2), but with different view of town in distance.

FOR · MY · FATHER · AND · COUNTRY ·

In exergue—

CARLISLE · REDUCED
AND · REBELS · FLEW
DEC : 1745.

Size, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. = 36·5^m. *Metal*, Æ.

3. *Obv.*—Similar in type to the above.

GUL : DUX : CUMB : DELICLÆ : MILITUM.

Below the bust—

NATUS 15 : APR. 1721.

Rev.—As above.

PRO : PATRE : ET : PATRIA.

In exergue—

REB · EX · ANG · PULLSI
& CART · REDACTUM
DEC : 1745 (*sic*).

Size, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch = 35^m. *Metal*, Æ.

4. *Obv.*—Laureated bust of the duke to the left.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS WILLIAM DUKE OF
CUMBERLAND :

Rev.—Body of armed foot-soldiers on the march.

THE PRETENDERS LAST SHIFT OR REBELS
RACE FOR LIFE : 1745.

Size, $1\frac{1}{5}\frac{8}{10}$ inch. = 35^m. *Metal*, Æ.

5. *Obv.*—Type and legend as No. 2.

Rev.—The duke on horseback ordering rebels to execution.

• REBELLION : JUSTLY : REWARDED :

In exergue—

AT · CARLILE ·
DEC : 1745.

Size, $1\frac{1}{5}\frac{7}{10}$ inch. = 34^m. *Metal*, Æ.

6. *Obv.*—Type and legend as Nos. 2 and 5.

Rev.—The Battle of Culloden ; rebels flying to the left ;
guns in the foreground. Legend as reverse of 5.

In exergue—

AT · CULLODEN ·
16 · AP · 1746.

Size, $1\frac{2}{5}$ inch. = 36^m. *Metal*, Æ.

7. *Obv.*—Type and legends as above, but without BRITISH
HERO.

Rev.—The Battle of Culloden ; rebels flying to right.
Legend as reverse of 5 and 6.

In exergue—

CULLODEN · 16 · AP
1746.

Size, $1\frac{2}{5}$ inch. = 36^m. *Metal*, Æ.

8. *Obv.*—Type and legend as Nos. 2 and 5.

Rev.—The duke, armed and on horseback, putting to flight the rebels ; town in the distance. Legend as above.

In exergue, 1745.

Size, $1\frac{1}{8}\frac{7}{8}$ inch = 34^m.

Metal, Æ.

9. *Obv.*—The duke on horseback, as on the medal by A. Kirk, No. 4.

WILL^M DUKE CUMBERLAND.

In exergue—

BORN 15 AP. 1721.

Rev.—Battlefield ; rebels flying to right. Legend as above.

In exergue—

CULLODEN 16 AP.
1746.

Size, $1\frac{1}{8}\frac{7}{8}$ inch. = 34^m.

Metal, Æ.

10. *Obv.*—Duke on horseback galloping to left, with drawn sword.

DUKE · OF · CUMBER :

Rev.—Executioner hanging rebels on gallows.

MORE REBELS A COMEING.

Size, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. = 33^m.

Metal, Æ.

11. *Obv.*—As No. 10.

Rev.—The prince trying to reach a crown on a pillar ; the duke pulling him back, and running him through with sword.

COME BACK AGAIN.

In exergue—

PRETENTER.

Size, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. = 33^m.

Metal, Æ.

12. *Obv.*—Bust, bareheaded, to right.

GVLIELMVS · DVX · CVMBRIÆ.

Rev.—The prince kneeling before the crowned lion of England. No legend.

In exergue, 1746.

Size, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. = 32^m. *Metal*, Æ.

13. *Obv.*—Bust and legend as No. 12.

Rev.—Lion attacking and overpowering a wolf.

IVSTITIA. TRIVMPHANS.

In exergue—MDCCXLVI.

(See medal by Pingo, No. 1.)

Size, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. = 32^m. *Metal*, Æ.

A variety in the MB. has IVSTICE. TRIVMPHANT.; in exergue, 1745.

14. *Obv.*—Bust, nearly full-faced, wearing cocked hat.

GULIELMUS · DUX · CUMBRIÆ.

Rev.—Prince supplicating Britannia, who holds a sword over him.

MELIORIBUS · UTERE · FATIS.

In exergue, 1746.

Size, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. = 32^m. *Metal*, Æ.

R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

MISCELLANEA.

THE STAMFORD MINT.

To the Editor of the "Numismatic Chronicle."

SIR,—Since I published, in 1869, an account of the ancient mint of Stamford—Eadgar to Henry II. inclusive—and a descriptive list of six hundred coins struck at that mint,¹ I have added to my own collection more than forty coins of the same, and have gathered particulars of upwards of sixty others. I purpose, therefore, to publish a supplemental list of coins of the Stamford Mint, and to describe each coin as particularly as the coins in the former list were described. To aid me in doing this, I shall be greatly obliged to any numismatists who possess one or more coins of this mint if they will be kind enough to furnish me with rubbings of the obverse and reverse of each coin, or with precise particulars, as in the extract below, taken from my former list.

Yours truly,

SAMUEL SHARP.

GREAT HARROWDEN HALL,
WELLINGBOROUGH.

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxii., Nos. 1 to 5; Hawkins, 208.

+ LNT RE+:	+ ARLRIM ONI STANV
+ *** **	+ EARLRIM ONI STAN
+ ENV · T RE+ ·	+ FÆRLRIM: ON STÆ
+ REEX · LNT:	+ LODRIE ON STAN
+ LNT REEX	+ LODVINE ON STÆ
+ ENV · T RE+:	+ LEFVINE ON STAN·

FINDS NEAR KHORREMMABAD AND AT SHUSHTER.—Mr. A. H. Schindler, Inspector of Telegraphs, Teheran, has communicated to me the following note on two finds of early Muslim coins in Persia:—"During the summer of last year some Lurs of the Dulwend tribe found in a ruin near Khorremmabad, the capital of Luristan, a small pot of coins. There were some gold and many silver coins. I never saw the former, but of the latter I managed to get twenty-six varieties into my possession. As the unlucky finders had been put into a dungeon, and were

¹ See "Num. Chron.," N.S. vol. ix. pp. 327—368.

unwilling to give any information on the subject, I have not been able to see the ruin in which the pot was found. The governor of the province would never show the gold coins. In cases of this kind the greatest mystery and secrecy is always observed by the governors. Some years ago a hoard of Sassanian gold coins was found in the ruins of Shapur; the local governor denied all knowledge of them, but the appearance of an immense gold tea-urn some weeks after showed what had become of the coins! Of the twenty-six dirhems, five are not found in the Br. Mus. collection, to wit—Et-Teymerah, A. H. 91; Jayy, 81; Sábúr, 99; Herát, 99; Hamadhán, 93; and one 'Abbásee, El-Mansúr, Dimashk, 137. The others correspond to the following numbers in the Br. Mus. Catalogue, vol. i.:—Amawee series, 63, 85, 92, 93, 100, 102, 105, 106, 108, 123, 161, 178, 179, 181, 183, 192, 207, 208. The number is made up by two mint- and date-less 'Abbásee dirhems. The coins found at Shushter are these:—Darábjard, A. H. 91; Máhi, 97; Wásit, 89, 95, 125; of which the first two are not included in the Museum collection. "The Khorremabád lot are all in fine preservation, but most of them are considerably clipped." Of the coins which are not included in the Museum collection only two are found in the catalogue of the late Colonel Guthrie's Amawee coins—viz. Et-Teymerah, 91; and Herát, 99; and the latter differs from the Guthrie specimen in having one point instead of two under the formula. All the coins are found in M. Tiesenhausen's "*Monnaies des Khalifs Orientaux*," except Herát, 99; Sábúr, 99; and Dimashk, 137; the latter two being, I believe, entirely inedited.

S. LANE POOLE.

October, 1878.

HOARD OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S PENNIES FOUND AT SEDLEScombe, NEAR BATTLE.—"On August 26, 1876, a labourer, whilst digging a drain in a meadow near the village of Sedlescombe, struck his spade against a hard substance, namely, a small iron pot, broken and much oxidized. Within it was part of a leather bag, containing about a pint of small old coins, silver pennies of four different sorts, but all of Edward the Confessor, who reigned A.D. 1042 to 1066. The manor in which they were found is said to have belonged to Earl Godwin, father of King Harold II. Some of the coins were very brittle and broken" (especially the full-faced of the Hastings Mint, by Colspegen).—*Local Newspaper*.

There were none of the *early* types of this king's pennies in the hoard. Taking Messrs. Head and Willett's arrangement as a

basis (see "Num. Chron.," N.S. vol. vii. p. 72—75, and vol. xvi. p. 324), there was not one of *their* first *five* types, in which the king appears young and beardless, with the bust to the left; but by far the greater part was with Edward's bust to the right, bearded and crowned, as Hawkins, pl. xvii. 222. Of this type there were about thirteen hundred, above a hundred of the full-faced type, with small cross on the reverse, as Hawkins, 225, and twelve of the same type, but smaller, being exactly eleven-sixteenths of an inch diameter, both sizes weighing only 16 grs., whilst the average weight of the other types was 20 grs. There were about fifty of the pointed helmet type, as Hawkins, 227, and three dozen with the king seated on a throne, as Hawkins, 228. With the coins was a small bar of silver about half an inch square and two and a half inches long, weighing 1½ oz. From this fact, and from the coins being apparently fresh from the mint, it is probable they may have been buried by one of the Hastings moneyers of *recent appointment*, and hence the absence of all the earlier types. There were also more of the coins struck from that mint than any other. No coins of any other reign were found in the hoard.

The following mints and moneyers occur in the find:—

1. Bath +LÖDRIL ON BAÐA.
2. Bristol +ÆELFPINE ON BRVLESTO.
3. Canterbury +EADPARD ON DENT; also EL-
RED & LIOFSTAN.
4. Chichester +ÆELPINE ON EILEST; also
MANNE & PVLFRIL.
5. Crickdale +LIONRED ON EREEE.
6. Colchester +PVLFPINE ONCOLEET.
7. Dover¹ +LÖDPINE ON DOFERE; also
LILPI ON DOFER.
8. Exeter +PVLMEER ON EXECE æT; LI-
FING ON EXELESTR.
9. Gloucester +ÆELSI ON GLEPEEET.
10. Hastings² +EOLSPÆGEN ON HIES; and
ÐIODRED ON HÆæTI; also
BRID DVNING, PVLFRIC, and
LEOFPINE.

¹ Godwine has on his Dover penny, H. 222, EADPARD ANGLO, instead of the usual legend of EADPARD REX.

² All the Hastings pennies except the full-faced read EAD-PARRD (two Rs). Colspegen and Ðiodred are *new* moneyers of this mint, and are not in the lists of Ruding, Lindsay, Head, or Willett. DUNING spells his name on the larger pennies of

11. Ilchester³ +GODRIE ON LIEELLE (*sic*).
12. Ipswich +BRVNINE ONIP.
13. Leicester +ELESIDE ON LEICES.
14. Lewes +ONPOLD ON LEPE; also
GODPINE.
15. London +ÆLFARD ON LVNDE; also
ELESIE, GODPINE, and PVLFGAR.
16. Norwich +PVRSTAN ON NORD.
17. Oxford +BRINTRED ON OXENEX.
18. Romney +PVLMER ON RVMED.
19. Sandwich +LEOFFINE ON SAND.
20. Shaftesbury . . . +ELFPERD ON SEETE.
21. Southampton . . +PVLFNOD ON HAMTV. Voided
cross. (Var. of Hawkins, 222.)
22. Southwark . . . +OSMVND ON NVDL.
23. Thetford +ATSERÁ ON ðTEO (*sic*); BLA-
TRA ON ðET.
24. Wallingford . . . +BRIGHTPI~~N~~ ON PALI (Haw-
kins, 228); BRAND ON PAL
(Hawkins, 222).
25. Wareham +SIDEMAN ONPERHA.
26. Winchester . . . +ANDERBODE ON PINLE;
BRIGHTMÆR ON PINE (222);
also LIODPOLD & BRIGHT-
MÆR.
27. York +LEOPPINE ON EOFR.
- York (?) +SENEBERN ON EON (*sic*).

Uncertain mints :—

28. ELFRIE ON BERDEST. (See Lindsay, iv. p. 95.)
29. GODRIE ON HÆLP.
30. ÐO . . . ED ON ·ORÐP . . (Perhaps Norwich.)
31. EOLPINE ON TANE. (Probably Tamworth.)

The above coins passed through my hands and from them
I copied the descriptions. H. S. GILL.

TIVERTON.

P.S.—The place where the coins were discovered was near the site of the battle of Hastings. As usual, the small cross + precedes the king's name, forming also the last letter of REX, except in the Dover penny of Godwine, on which the + is omitted.

the 225 type, as above, but on the smaller coins of the same type it is DVNNING.

³ Ilchester. The reverse of this penny slightly varies from the rest, as noted by Mr. Head, pl. vi. No. 1.



1



3



4



2



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



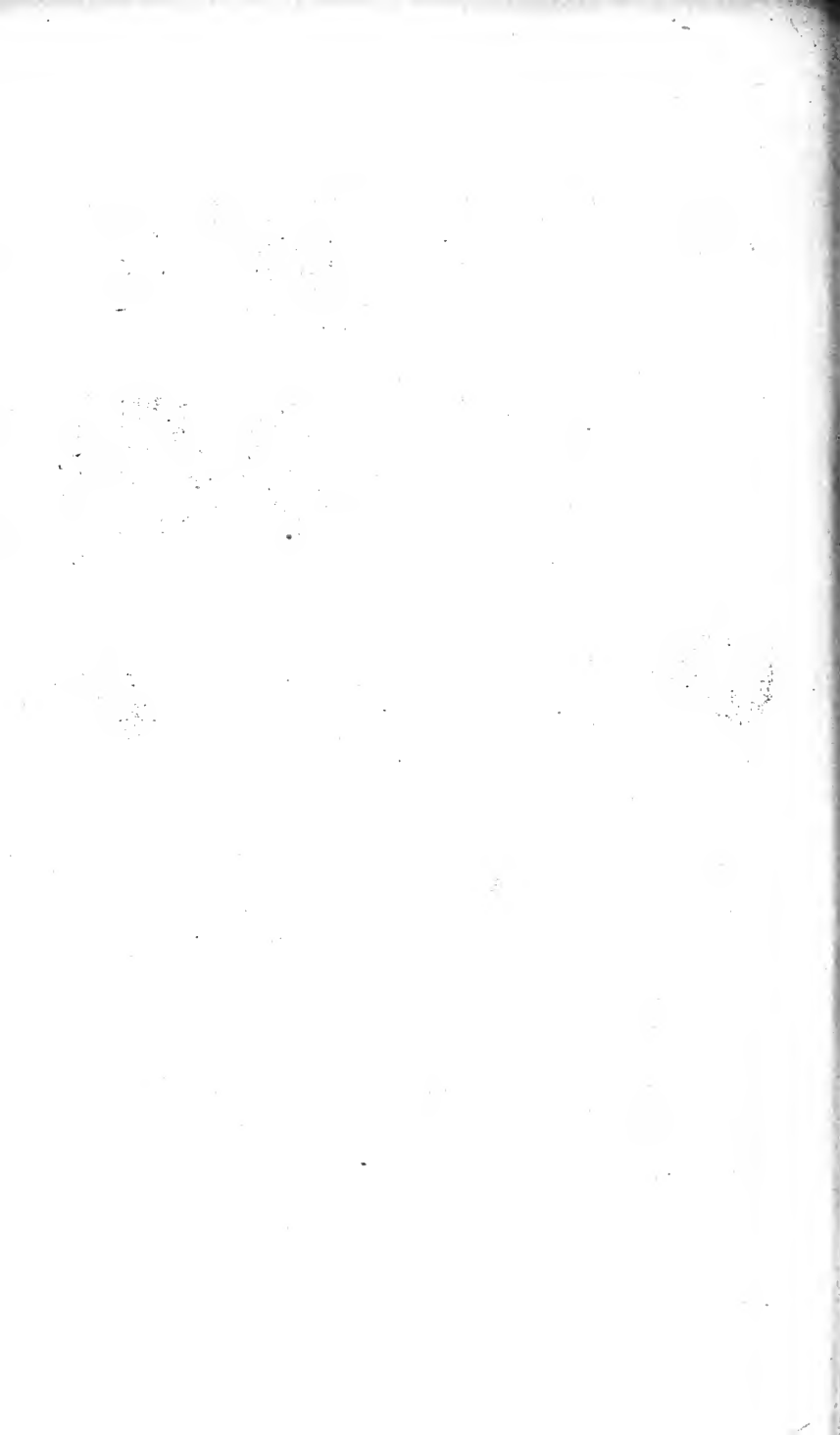
17



18



19





1



2



3



4



5

MILLED SCOTTISH COINS.

PATTERN PIECES OF JAMES VII AND HIS SON.





XIII.

IRISH SILVER COINS OF HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII. succeeded to the throne on the 22nd of April, 1509. Sir James Ware, in his "Annals of Ireland," *sub anno* 1509, writes: "It was the opinion of wise men that the King did hitherto neglect too much his Irish affairs: whereupon a serious debate was had in England to rectifie this error, and to send some fit person, of the chief of the nobility, with forces into Ireland, to suppress the rebels, and reduce them to their allegiance. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, did seem to be the fittest person of all the Council for this expedition, who, for his former warlike achievements, was highly prized by the King."

This statement is confirmed in the "Correspondence between the Governments of England and Ireland" in the "State Papers" of the reign of Henry VIII., published in 1834.

Notwithstanding the immense wealth which the King inherited from his father, we find the Earl of Surrey, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1520, and also Lord-Deputy Gray subsequently, making frequent and earnest appeals to the King for money to pay the troops in Ireland; in which country the King's revenues were much in arrear, and great difficulties experienced in collecting them (vol. ii., pp. 40, 58, 227, 340, 473).

Thomas, Earl of Surrey, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in April, 1520, and landed at Dublin on the 23rd of May following (vol. ii., p. 31, note).

The following sums of money were transmitted to Ireland between the years 1520 and 1543.

During the first half-year there was advanced to the Lord-Lieutenant and his treasurer the sum of £3,300 15s. 11*d.*, and in October or November following £4,000 was sent over in charge of Sir John Wallop Knight (p. 54).

On the 30th of July, 1521, the treasurer, Sir John Stile, acknowledged the receipt of £4,000 by the hands of John Tryce (p. 77).

On the 19th of May, 1535, a sum of money was brought over by Thomas Agard (p. 243), the receipt of which the Lord-Deputy Gray acknowledged, on the 24th of June, 1536 (p. 334).

The Council of Ireland, on the 12th of December, 1538, acknowledged the receipt of "treasure," which was brought over by Walter Cowley, and which "was conveyed in two hampers on horses to the Holyhead, by St. Albans, Brickhill, &c. The party landed at Dalkey, near Dublin (vol. iii., p. 108, note).

The Lord-Deputy, in his letter to Cromwell, dated 6th of November, 1539, acknowledged the receipt of treasure (p. 163).

The King, in his letter to the Lord-Deputy and Council dated 14th of April, 1542, writes: "We send unto you by this bearer, William Dormer, servant and deputy to our right trusty and wel-biloved counsailor the Lorde Admyrall, the somme of £2,461 12s., for the payment of our armye there" (p. 370).

And again on the 2nd of September, 1542: "We sende

unto you, at this tyme, by this berer, Robert Seintleiger, two thousande foure hundreth three score and one poundes and twelve shillings, in *harpe grotes*” (p. 419).

On the 5th of March, 1543, the King sent another remittance, of which the Lord-Deputy and Council, on the 15th of May following, acknowledged the receipt “by the hands of George Carew, the some of £2,461 12s. in *harpe grotes*” (p. 457); and in the same letter (p. 460) they inform the King that “thir ys no sterling money almoste to be had within this your realme.”

The total amount acknowledged was £18,685 11s. 11d., besides the “treasure” sent from time to time.

Very few of the Patent Rolls of the reign of Henry VIII. are at present to be found in this country, and the gross neglect of the Public Records in Ireland in Henry's reign, is manifest from the recommendation of I. Allen, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, to the King's commissioners in 1537, viz., “And where in tymes past the neglygent kepeing of the Kinges recordes hath growen to great losses to his Highnes, as well conserneing his landes as his lawes, for that every keper, for his tyme, as he favorid so did other imbesell, or sufferid to be imbesyllid such mynymentes as shulde make agaynst them, or thir fryendes, so that we have lytill to shewe for any of the Kinges landes or profytes in this partyes; yt is therfor necessarye that from hensforth all the rolles and mynyments to be hadde to be put in good ordre in the foresaid Tower [*i.e.* Birmingham Tower, in the Castle of Dublin], and the doore thereof to have 2 lockes, and the kayes thereof to one, to be with the constable, and the other with the under-tresorer, which lykewise it is necessarye to be an Engglysh man born; and that no man be sufferid to have loone of any of the said myny-

mentes from the same place, nor to serche, viewe, or rede any of them ther, but in the presence of one of the keepers aforesaid" (State Papers, vol. ii., p. 486).

Alen, in the same year, alluding to the "King's recordes," observes, "for as they be handeleid now, it is pytye to see them," and that "none of them shulde, at any tyme, be taken owte of the place where they shulde be in custodye" (Ibid., p. 501).

The Lord-Deputy Sentleger, in his letter to the King dated 4th of June, 1543, writes: "Where, also, yt hathe ben long used here, that many men, as well of the lawe as other, have recourse to your Highness' recordes here, ye, and sometyme have them in thir houses two or three daies together, whereby many greate inconvenyances might ensue, I thinke yt were well donne that your high commandement wer addressed to your Vicethesauror, that in no wyse the same recordes shulde be had out of the Treasoory, nor yet the same sene, but either in his preasance, or some of his trusty clerks. For nowe many tymes when men have exemplications of recordes, when yt commeth to the tryall, the very recorde yt selffe can not be founde" (vol. iii., pp. 468-9).

On the 9th of July, 1543, the King directed that the vice-treasurer "suffre no man to take any of the same [records] out of the house or treasury where they be kept, ne to serche them, but in presence of summe of his trusty clerkes" (Ibid., p. 477).

It is evident now that little if any further information relating to the coinage during this reign is to be found in the records preserved in Ireland, and therefore we must seek for it elsewhere.

A few records have been preserved in England, but they are so scanty that it will be more convenient to notice

them in connection with the particular coinages to which they relate.

The types and varieties of the coins struck for circulation in Ireland during this reign are very numerous, and fortunately there are dates on a few of them, and some particulars in the types of others which afford much assistance towards determining the chronological order of the several coinages.

FIRST COINAGE.

GROAT.

Obv.—A shield bearing the arms of England, quartered by a cross which extends to the margin of the coin, the shield surmounted by an arched crown. Mint-mark, a trefoil with three-lobed leaves. Legend, as divided into four parts by the arms of the cross—

1. $\eta\epsilon\text{NR} - \text{IC} \times \text{D} \times \text{GR} - \text{A}' \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} - \text{AGL}' \text{Z}.$
2. $\text{R}\epsilon' \text{R} - .$ (Pl. VII. No. 1.)

Rev.—An arched crown over a harp, which is between the initial letters $\eta. \text{R}.$; a small crown over each letter. Mint-mark, a crown or a trefoil with three-lobed leaves. Legend, $\text{FRAN}\epsilon \times \text{DOMINVS} \times \text{HI-BERNIA}.$

The heaviest of these coins weighs 40 grains.

These are the only groats of Henry which have not the numerals viii. after the King's name in the legend on the obverse, and therefore may be presumed to be of the earliest coinage.

SECOND COINAGE.

GROAT.

Type same as the first coinage. Mint-marks, a crown and a trefoil with three-lobed leaves.

Obv.— $\eta\epsilon\text{NRI} - \text{C}'\text{VIII}' \times - \text{D} \times \text{G} \times \text{R} - \text{AGLIA} \times \text{Z}.$

$\eta\epsilon\text{NR} - \text{IC}' \times \text{VIII} - \text{D} \times \text{G} \times \text{R} - \text{AGL}' \times \text{Z}.$

$\eta\epsilon\text{N} - \text{RIC} \times \text{VIII} - \text{D} \times \text{G} \times \text{R} - \text{AGL} \text{Z}.$

Rev.—FRANC \times DOMINVS \times HIBERNIA.

The heaviest weighs 38·5 grains.

Simon says "it doth not appear that there was any [money] struck here before the year 1530, the twenty-first of this prince, when he coined new groats, and perhaps twopenny-pieces and pennies. Bishop Nicholson says that the first Irish money coined in this reign was struck in the thirty-second year of that King, which falls in 1540 ; but I must beg leave to differ from that learned prelate, and to offer my reasons for it. I have a groat of this prince which has on one side the arms of England in a scutcheon, divided by a cross, and crowned with an arched crown, with this inscription, HENRIC · VIII · D · R · AGL · Z · Reverse, a harp crowned between the letters H · R · each also crowned, and round it FRANC · DOMINVS · HIBER · ; here the ancient motto POSVI, &c., is left out, and the harp for the first time appears on the Irish coins. This piece, I presume, was struck in the year 1530, before his marriage with Ann Bullen, which did not happen till the following year, 1531, when, instead of H · R, he had on the reverse of the groats struck that year the letters H · A · for Henry and Ann." (Edit. 1749, p. 33.)

Simon does not give any authority for the date which he assigns to this coinage, and Henry's secret marriage with Ann Boleyn in 1532 was not confirmed by Cranmer until the 28th of May, 1533, and was ratified by Parliament the 15th of January, 1534 ("L'Art de vérifier les dates," tome i., p. 820). No half-groats or pennies with the letters H · R on the reverse have yet been discovered.

Lord-Deputy Gray and the Council of Ireland, in their dispatch to the King, dated 20th of April, 1537, say :—

“Another thing we have concluded amonges us to be passed in this Parliament, which shall soo augment your reynnues, as we can see none other thing shall; that theire shalbe no money currante here but after the rate of sterling; which now, at the furste, shall encrease your reynnues too thousande marches by the yere, and above; so as after your officers paid, your Highness shall have, for the payment of your Deputie and armye whiche shall remayne, for every 13s. 4*d*. ye had before, 20s.; where ye had before but an hunderith marches, ye shall have an hunderith poundes; for every thousande marches, a thousande poundes; after which rate your coyne is currante in all places of this lande, excepte in theis parties. Albeit, this order can never be observed here, onles Your Grace appoynte a mynte here immediatlie; the profectes wherof wilbe somwhate to Your Grace.” (State Papers, Ireland, clxvi., vol. ii., p. 431.) See “Letter of Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, to the King, in 1487.”—Simon, p. 32.

In a letter from Lord Gray to Crumwell, dated the 18th of May, 1537, he writes: “Concer[n]ing the Acte to] have coyne currant here after the rate of sterling, ye [*knowe*] the oppinions of us and others by our other letters. The C[ouncil] at thes season did stike veray sore to passe it, for feare that having this Irishe coyne damned, an no mynte here, thei shulde have no coyne amongis them. Wherefor, if it shalbe thought good by the Kinges Majestie, and youe of his moste honorable Counsaill, to have the same devise procede, let us be certified therof at the commyng of the Kinges Comissioners hither.” (State Papers, Ireland, clxviii., vol. ii., p. 439.)

The “Irishe coyne” alluded to in this letter is probably the groat of the latter part of the reign of Henry VII., the weight of which rarely amounts to thirty grains.

(Smith, "Irish Coins of Henry VII.," Trans. R. I. Acad., vol. xix.; Part II., Pl. 3.)

It appears from these letters that there was not any regal mint in Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII., and in the accounts of the large sums of money sent from England into Ireland between the years 1520 and 1543, "harpe grotes" are first mentioned in a letter dated 2nd September, 1542, from the King to the Lord-Deputy and Council of Ireland. (State Papers, ccclxxvii., vol. iii., p. 419.)

The remittances from England before September, 1542, probably consisted of the English coins of Henry, whose first and second coinages are found in great abundance in Ireland.

THIRD COINAGE.

GROAT.

Type same as the first coinage. Mint-mark, a crown on each side.

Obv.— $\eta\epsilon\text{NR}\text{I} - \alpha' \times \text{VIII} - \text{D}' \times \text{G} \times \text{R} - \pi\text{GLI}\alpha' \times \text{Z}.$

Rev.— $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha\alpha \times \text{DOMINVS} \times \eta\text{IB}\epsilon\text{RN}\text{I}\alpha.$

Some specimens have two small crosses between the mint-mark and $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha\alpha$, others only one, and there are others without it. One in good preservation weighs 38 grains.

The harp on the reverse is between the letters $\text{H} \cdot \text{I} \cdot$ crowned.

HALF-GROAT.

Same type as the groat with initials $\text{H} \cdot \text{I} \cdot$ Mint-mark, a crown on each side

Obv.— $\text{h}\epsilon\text{N}\text{R} - \text{I}\alpha \times 8 - \text{D} \times \text{G} \times \text{R} - \text{KGLL}' \times \text{Z}$.

Rev.— $\text{FR}\alpha\text{N}\alpha \times \text{DOMINVS} \times \text{hIB}\epsilon\text{RNIA} \times (\text{Pl. VII. No. 4.})$ and $\text{FR}\alpha\text{N}\alpha \times \text{D}\text{N}\text{S}' \times \text{hIB}\epsilon\text{RNIA} \times (\text{Pl. VII. No. 5.})$

The heaviest weighs 20 grains.

The Arabic numeral 8, which now first appears on the Irish coins, was also used on a Tournay groat struck in 1513. (Ruding, 8vo ed., vol. ii., p. 412.)

There is no difficulty in fixing the date of this particular coinage within a limited period. Jane Seymour is the only one of the six wives of Henry whose Christian name could be represented by the letter I. She was married to the King on the 20th of May, 1536, and she died on the 13th of October, 1537 ("L'Art de vérifier les dates," i. pp. 820, 821.)

Although the necessity for a mint in Ireland was urged by the Lord-Deputy Gray in his dispatch of the 20th of April, 1537, about six months before the death of Jane Seymour, it will appear hereafter that Henry's Irish coins were minted in England up to the last year of his reign.

Ruding states that Irish half-groats were first ordered to be made in 1541 (vol. ii., p. 433, 8vo edit.). This misstatement is corrected by the existence of the half-groats having on the reverse the initials of Jane Seymour, who died the 24th of October, 1537.

FOURTH COINAGE.

GROAT.

Same type as the preceding coins, the harp on the reverse is between the letters H · A · Mint-mark, a crown on each side.

Obv.— $\text{h}\epsilon\text{NRI} - \alpha' \times \text{VIII} - \text{D}' \times \text{G} \times \text{R} - \text{KGLIA} \times \text{Z}$.

Rev.— $\text{FR}\alpha\text{N}\alpha \times \text{DOMINVS} \times \text{hIB}\epsilon\text{RNIA}$.

Some have two small crosses before $\text{FRAN}\alpha\alpha$, on others there are no crosses. A groat in fine preservation weighs 40 grains.

There are forgeries of this coinage of base silver and with blundered legends. They weigh about 30 grains.

HALF-GROAT.

Type same as the groat, with initials $\text{H} \cdot \text{A} \cdot$ Mint-mark, a crown on each side.

Obv.— $\text{h}\alpha\text{NR} — \text{I}\alpha \times 8 — \text{D} \times \text{G} \times \text{R} — \pi\text{GL} \times \text{Z}$.

Rev.— $\text{FRAN}\alpha\alpha \times \text{DOMINVS} \times \text{hIBERNIA} \cdot$ (Pl. VII. No. 2) and $\text{FRAN}\alpha\alpha \times \text{D}\text{NS}' \times \text{hIBERNIA} \times$ (Pl. VII. No. 3).

Weight, from 20 to 20.5 grains.

Simon appropriates these coins to “Ann Bullen” (p. 33). Of the two queens, Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves, I prefer the latter. Anne Boleyn was beheaded on the 19th of May, 1536 (“L’Art de vérifier les dates,” i. p. 280), and she is excluded from the honour of having her initial associated with that of the King, because it is not probable that “harpe grotes” were coined before April, 1537, when Lord-Deputy Gray urged the necessity of a mint in Ireland.

FIFTH COINAGE.

GROAT.

Type same as the preceding coins; the harp on the reverse is between the letters $\text{H} \cdot \text{K} \cdot$ Mint-mark, a crown on each side.

Obv.— $\text{h}\alpha\text{NRI} — \alpha' \times \text{VIII} — \text{D}' \times \text{G}' \times \text{R} — \pi\text{GL}' \times \text{Z}$.
 $\text{h}\alpha\text{NR} — \text{I}\alpha' \times \text{VIII} — \text{D}' \times \text{G}' \times \text{R} — \text{AGL}' \times \text{Z}$.

Rev.— $\text{FRAN}\alpha\alpha \times \text{DOMINVS} \times \text{hIBERNIA}$.

Some have a cross before $\text{FR}\Lambda\text{N}\alpha\alpha$, others are without it. Weight of a groat in good preservation, 40 grains.

HALF-GROAT.

Same type as the groat with the initials $\text{H} \cdot \text{K} \cdot$ Mint-mark, a crown on each side.

Obv.— $\text{h}\epsilon\text{N} - \text{RI}\alpha \times 8 - \text{D} \times \text{G} \times \text{R} - \text{KGL} \times \text{Z}$.

Rev.— $\text{FR}\Lambda\text{N}\alpha\alpha \times \text{DNS} \times \text{hIB}\epsilon\text{RN}\iota\alpha$. (Pl. VII. No. 6.)

Weight, 18.3 grains.

Katherine of Aragon died January 8th, 1536 ("L'Art de vérifier les dates," i. p. 820), and if I am correct in preferring Anne of Cleves to Anne Boleyn, there can be no difficulty in selecting the particular one of the three queens who bore the name of Katherine, and whose initial K appears on these coins. Katherine Parr was not married to the King until the 12th of July, 1543 ("L'Art de vérifier les dates," i. p. 821), more than two years after Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland in 1541, after which time the word $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$ appears on his Irish coins. The initial letter K is that of Katherine Howard, to whom the King was secretly married, and who was declared Queen by the Parliament on the 8th of August, 1540, and who was beheaded the 13th of February, 1542. ("L'Art de vérifier les dates," i. pp. 821, 822.)

A commission was granted the 13th of July, 1540, to Ralph Rowlett¹ and others to make a *new coin*, called the Harpe-Groat, to be current in Ireland only. The harpe-groats were for circulation in Ireland and not elsewhere.

¹ Ralph Rowlett and Martin Bowes were Masters of the Mint 18th Henry VIII. (1526-7), and 34th Henry VIII. Sir Martin Bowes and Ralphe Rowlett were Masters (1542-3) (Ruding, 8vo edit. vol. i. p. 91).

“ With our Arms of this our realme, and Scripture about the same by us appoynted therefore, not only on the one side of that money but also with the Armes of our Domynion of Ireland: that is to say, a Harpe crowned, and our Scripture about the same on th’ other syde, and the sam money to be made accordinge to a c’ten fyenes— of the fynes of 9 oz. of fyne silver and iii. oz. of aley in the pounce weyght of troy, that is to say, of the aley of fourtyn penyweight worse in the pounce weyght of troye then is our sterlyng money of Englande.” (From the Patents in the Rolls Chapel, London, communicated by Sir Henry Ellis.)

The King’s desire to resist the supremacy of the Pope in Ireland may be inferred from the following extracts from the “State Papers,” which also indicate the means adopted by his advisers to have him “recognisyd Kynge of Ireland:”—

In the “Ordinances for the Government of Ireland,” issued by the King in 1534, he “willeth and straitely chargethe, and commanndeth his Deputie and Counsayle of that lande, that they and everye of them, indeavour theym selves, to theyr powers, to resiste the Byshopp of Rome’s provisions, and other his pretended and usurped jurisdiction, accordinge to the statutes thereupon provided; and the lyke to be enacted there the nexte Parlyament.” (Vol. ii., p. 215.)

In “A Certen Information for our Soveraigne Lordes moste honourable commysioners in Irland,” in the handwriting of Alen, the Master of the Rolls, dated 1537, it is recommended “that his Highnes be recognised heere, by Acte of Parlyament, supreme governour of this domynyon, by the name of the King of Ireland” (p. 480). And in 1538, Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, advo-

cated the supremacy of the King, and wished to have him "recognisyd King of Irlond." (Vol. iii., p. 30.)

The Lord-Deputy and Council, in their letter to the King dated 30th of December, 1540, think "that it were good that your Majestie were from hensforth called King of Ireland; whereunto we thinke, that in effecte, all the nobilitie, and other inhabitants of this your lande, wolde therunto agre; and we thinke that they that be of the Irissherie wolde more gladder obey your Highnes by name of King of this your lande, then by the name of Lorde thereof; havinge hadde heretofore a folisshe opinyon amonges them, that the Bisshoppe of Rome shulde be King of the same. For extirping wherof, we thinke it mete, under your Highnes pardon, that, by auctoritie of Parliament, it shuldb be ordeyned, that your Majestie, your heirs and successors, shuldb be named Kinges of this land; whiche, nevertheles, we remitte to your moste excellente wisdom" (p. 278).

On the 26th of June, 1541, the Lord-Deputy, Sir Antony Sentleger, in his letter to the King, informed his Majesty that in the Parliament which assembled on the 13th of June, "the morrowe after Trynyte Sunday," it was unanimously agreed by the Lords and Commons that his Majesty and his heirs "should from thenceforthe be named and called, King of Ireland. And for that the thing passed so joyously, and so miche to the contentation of every person, the Sondag foloing (19th of June) ther were made in the citie greate bonfires, wyne sette in the stretis, greate festinges in their houses, with a goodly sorte of gunnes. And the said Sondag all the Lordes and gentilmen rode to your Chirche of Sent Patrikes, where was song a solemne Masse by the Archbishop of Dublin, and after the Masse, the said Acte proclaymed ther in

presens of 2,000 persons, and Te Deum song, with greate joy and gladnes to all men" (pp. 305—308).

The King, in his letter dated 8th of September, 1541, to the Lord-Deputy and Council, informs them that he hath caused the Act "to be in summe parts amended," and willing "it to be newly passed, as it is nowe sent to you, and then to use this stile following—Henry the VIIIth, by the Grace of God, King of Englande, Fraunce, and Irlande, Defendour of the Faith, and in Erthe, immediately undre Christ, Supreme Hed of the Churches of England and Irlande" (p. 323).

SIXTH COINAGE.

This coinage is distinguished from those already described by having "Hibernie Rex" instead of "Dominus Hibernie" in the legend, without any change in the type, the initial letters H · R are on the reverse. The fleur-de-lis and rose mint-marks which occur on his English money now first appear on the Irish coins.

Mint-mark, a trefoil with three-lobed leaves.

GROAT.

Obv.— $\eta\epsilon\rho\rho\iota\alpha$ — VIII × DI — $\Gamma\rho\pi\alpha\iota\pi$ — $\pi\eta\gamma\lambda\iota\alpha$.
 $\eta\epsilon\rho\rho\iota$ — α' VIII — DI $\Gamma\rho\pi$ — $\pi\eta\gamma\lambda\iota\alpha$.

Mint-mark, a fleur de lis.

$\eta\epsilon\rho\rho\iota\alpha$ — VIII × DI — $\Gamma\rho\pi\alpha\iota\pi$ — $\pi\eta\gamma\lambda\iota\alpha$.

Mint-mark, a rose.

$\eta\epsilon\rho\rho\iota\alpha$ — VIII × DI — $\Gamma\rho\pi\alpha\iota$ — $\pi \times \pi\eta\gamma\lambda\iota\alpha$.
 $\eta\epsilon\rho\rho\iota$ — α' VIII — DI $\Gamma\rho\pi$ — $\pi\eta\gamma\lambda\iota\alpha$.

Rev.—The legend on all these groats is :

$\Phi\rho\pi\eta\alpha\iota\alpha \times \epsilon\tau \times \eta\iota\beta\epsilon\rho\eta\iota\alpha \times \rho\epsilon\chi$.

These coins weigh from 38 to 39·5 grains.

SEVENTH COINAGE.

In the thirty-sixth year of Henry (1544-5) there "was an indenture with Martin Bowes and others for making two manner of monies for Ireland, eight ounces fine silver, and four ounces allay, which was one ounce coarser than the English of the same year.² Sixpences, Irish, at fourpence, the pound to contain a hundred and forty-four; and threepences at twopence, two hundred and eighty-eight to the pound."³ (Mint Books, quoted by Leake, 3rd edit., p. 209.)

SIX PENCE.

Obv.—The King is represented crowned, a three-quarter or a nearly front face, with moustache and beard; very little of the mantled bust appears on some; on others the face is fuller and the bust larger, with an ornamented mantle. Legend, HENRIC · 8 · D · G · AGL · FRA · Z · HIB · REX in Roman characters, small lozenge-shaped points or small pellets between the words.

Rev.—The arms of England and France on a square-headed shield, quartered by a cross with forked extremities; a half-rose between the forks of the cross. Mint-mark, a harp.

1. Legend, CIVI — TAS — DVB — LINIE. Weight, $36\frac{4}{10}$ grains.
2. One with P mint-mark weighs 34·7 grains. (Pl. VII. No. 7.)
3. Another, with the ends of the cross divided into three leaves and the mint-mark P, weighs 38·6 grains.
4. One with the half-rose between the forks of the cross, mint-mark a boar's head, has a small cross after CIVITAS, and the legend DVBL — INIE; it weighs 37·6 grains.

² The standard of England of the same year was six ounces fine and six alloy. (Ruding, vol. i., p. 26, 8vo. edit.)

³ The Tower pound of 5,400 grains continued in use until the 18th year of Henry VIII., when it was abolished by proclamation, and the troy pound of 5,760 grains was established in its stead. (Ruding, vol. i. p. 18.)

5. *Obv.*—HENRIC · 8 · D · G · AGL · FRANC · Z · HIB · REX. Small crosses between the words.

Rev.—CIVI — TAS — DVB — LINIE. The ends of the cross divided into three branches, with a small cross at each side of the branches.

Weight, 35 grains.

There are, perhaps, other varieties, but these coins are usually badly struck, and more or less imperfect, owing to the hardness of the base metal.

SIX PENCE.

Obv.—HENRIC · 8 · D · G · AGL · FRANC · Z · HIB REX. Mint-mark, a harp; the letters HE united in monogram; small roses between the words on some, absent on others.

Rev.—CIVI — TAS — DVB — LINIE. Mint-mark, a boar's head; the ends of the cross divided into three branches; a small rose at each of the lateral branches on some, on others a small cross.

Weight, 35·8 grains.

THREE PENCE.

Obv.—HENRIC · 8 · D · G · AGL · FR · Z · HIB · REX. No mint-mark; the letters HE in monogram; small crosses between the words.

Rev.—CIVI — TAS — DVBL — INIE. No mint-mark; ends of the cross forked.

Weight, 20·6 grains. (Pl. VII. No. 8.)

Rev.—Another has the ends of the cross divided into three branches; small roses at the lateral branches; mint-mark, a boar's head.

Weight, 19·9 grains.

Rev.—CIVI — TAS — DVBL — INIE. Mint-mark, a boar's head; ends of the cross forked; a small cross in the fork under the shield.

Weight, 18·2 grains.

Another has a harp, mint-mark, on each side.

THREE PENCE.

Obv.—HENRIC · 8 · D · G · AG · FR · Z · HI · REX.

1. *Rev.*—CIVI — TAS — DVB — LINIE. Mint-mark, a harp; ends of the cross forked.

Weight, 18·5 grains.

2. CIVI — TAS — DVBL — INIE. Mint-mark, a boar's head; ends of the cross forked. Weight, 17·8 grains. A small cross in the fork under the shield.

3. Another, without the small cross in the fork and having no mint-mark, weighs 19·8 grains.

Obv.—HENRIC · 8 · D · G · A · F · Z · HIB · REX. Lozenge-shaped points between the words.

4. *Rev.*—CIVI — TAS — DVB — LINIE. Mint-mark, a boar's head; the ends of the cross divided into three branches, somewhat like a fleur-de-lis inverted; a small rose at each side of the branches of the forks. Weight, 14·8 grains.

5. Another has small crosses instead of the roses; it weighs 16·2 grains.

Obv.—HENRIC · 8 · D · G · AG · Z · HIB · REX. Lozenge-shaped points between the words. The King's head is smaller, not so full front, and more of the bust appears than on the preceding coins.

6. *Rev.*—CIVI — TAS — DVB — LINIE. Mint-mark, a P; ends of the cross forked.

Weight, 17·9 grains.

THREE HALFPENCE.

Obv.—Crowned head, three-quarter face, looking to the left; bust with plain mantle. Legend, H · D · G · ROSA · SINE · SPINE. Small lozenge-shaped points between the words.

1. *Rev.*—Arms of England and France quartered by a cross, the ends of which are forked. Legend, CIVI — TAS — DVB — LIN. (Pl. VII. No. 9.)

Weight, 10 grains. (Rev. J. W. Martin's *Sale Catalogue*.)

2. Another, with CIVI — TAS — DVBL — INIE,
weighs, 9·5 grains.

Obv.—Crowned head, full-front face; bust with ornamented mantle. Legend, H · D · G · ROSA · SIN · SPI.
Small pellets between the words.

Rev.—Legend, CIVI — TAS — DVB — INIE.

Weight, 8 grains. (Pl. VII. No. 10.)

THREE FARTHINGS.

Obv.—Crowned head, full-front face; bust with mantle.
Legend, H · D · G · ROSA · SINE · SP. Lozenges
between the words.

Rev.—A cross with forked ends extending to the margin;
three small pellets in each quarter of the cross.
Legend, CIVI — TAS — DVB — LIN.

Weight, 5·5 grains. (Rev. J. W. Martin's Sale
Catalogue.) (Pl. VII. No. 11.)

ROSE PENNY.

Obv.—A large rose in the centre. Legend, H · D · G · ROSA ·
SINE · SPINA. Lozenges between the words.

Rev.—Arms of England and France quartered by a cross.
Legend, CIVI — TAS — LON — DON.

Weight, 19 grains.

EIGHTH COINAGE.

In his thirty-seventh year, 1545-6, there was another coinage, which is distinguished by having the figures 37 at the end of the legend on the reverse.

The type was again changed, and instead of the King's head on the obverse and the royal arms on the reverse, were substituted the royal arms and the harp between the letters H · R, similar to the earlier coinages.

SIX PENCE.

Mint-mark, a fleur-de-lis on each side.

Obv.— $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIQ}$ — VIII DI — $\text{GR}\text{N}\text{QI}\text{N}$ — $\text{NGLI}\epsilon$.

Rev.— $\text{FR}\text{N}\text{QI}\epsilon$ ϵT $\eta\text{IB}\epsilon\text{RNI}\epsilon$ $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$ 37.

Weight, 40 grains.

The English groat of this year weighed forty grains, which is the weight of the Irish sixpence, which shows that Irish money continued to be one-third less in value than English, as stated by Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, in his letter to Henry VII. in 1487. (Simon, p. 32.)

NINTH COINAGE.

There was another coinage in his thirty-eighth year, 1546-7, which is known by having the figures 38 at the end of the legend on the reverse. The type is the same as the coins of his thirty-seventh year.

SIX PENCE.

Mint-mark, a trefoil, usually on one or both sides.

Obv.— $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIQ}$? — 8 · D · G — NGL — $\text{FR}\text{N}\text{Q}$.

Rev.— ϵT $\eta\text{IB}\epsilon\text{RNI}\epsilon$ $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$ 38. (Pl. VII. No. 12.)

The letters WS in monogram at the beginning of the legend, a quatrefoil before ϵT , after which is a large rose, and there is a fleur-de-lis between $\eta\text{IB}\epsilon\text{RNI}\epsilon$ and $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$.

Weight, from 36 to 40 grains.

There are at least three varieties which differ only in the position or absence of the trefoil mint-mark, and in other minute particulars which would be difficult to describe.

"In the year 1546 the King caused the mint for coining gold and silver to be built and set up in the Castle [of Bristol], Mr. William Sherington being master there." (Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol," vol. ii., p. 228.) A fine Bristol groat with the letters W. S. in monogram weighs only thirty-five grains. Mr. Hawkins first recognised this monogram as the initials of William Sherington. ("Silver Coins of England," p. 136.)

Simon remarks that, with the exception of the groats, "the money struck in this reign was little better than brass, not above four ounces fine and eight allay, although according to the indenture [with Bowes in 1544] they were to be eight ounces fine and four allay." (Edit. 1749, p. 34.)

The sixpence of Henry's latest coinage was of a lower standard than Simon's estimate. I caused one to be analyzed, and the result was—

Copper	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	75·931
Silver	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	23·519
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	·488
Loss	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	·062
								<hr/>
								100·000

which is equivalent to three ounces fine and nine ounces alloy.

TENTH COINAGE.

There are other sixpences without the figures 38, but which have Sherington's monogram on the reverse.

Obv.— $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC}'$ — 8 : D' · G' — $\pi\text{NGL}'$ — $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$.

Rev.— ϵT $\eta\text{IB}\epsilon\text{RNIA}$ $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$. A large rose before the monogram, after ϵT , and at the end of the legend, in place of the figures 38.

Weight, 33 grains.

This coin is in fine condition, well struck, and the metal seems to be of better quality than the coins of the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth years.

Another of evidently base metal has the legends :

Obv.—HÆNRIC — 8 DEI — GRATI — AGLI.

Rev.—FRANCIA ET HIBERNIA REX. Small crosses only between the words.

Weight, 35 grains.

APPENDIX.

WAS THERE A MINT IN IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. ?

The Lord-Deputy Gray and the Council of Ireland, in their letter to the King dated 20th of April, 1537, recommended that there should be no money current in Ireland "but after the rate of sterling," and that his "Grace" should "appoynt a mint here immediately." (State Papers, vol. ii., p. 431.)

In 1540 Ralph Rowlett, master of the mint in *London*, and others, were commissioned to make a new coin, called the Harp Groat, to be current in Ireland only; and in 1544 an indenture was made with Martin Bowes, master of the mint in London, and others, to make "sixpences Irish."

The Privy Council of England, in their letter dated 5th of September, 1545, to the Lord-Deputy and Council of Ireland, say, "Your money, for the which you wrote, is also coyning" (State Papers, vol. iii., p. 534), and in a note at foot of the same page it is stated that, "From Wriothsley's before-mentioned letter to Paget it appears

that the standard was to be reduced from 8 fine and 4 allay (which had been the proportion), to 6 and 6, and that £1,000 might be coined by the 15th of September."

In 1546 Irish sixpences, with the monogram W. S., were coined at Bristol by William Sherington, the master of the mint in that city.

That the suggestion made by Lord-Deputy Gray in 1537 was not acted on, is evident from the indentures made with Rowlett and Bowes, and also that large sums of money were sent from England into Ireland between the years 1520 and 1543, and 145,196 "harpe groats," value £2,461 12s., were sent over in 1542, and a similar account of harpe groats in the following year.

It was not until the last year of the King's reign that, on the 24th of September, 1546, the establishment of a mint in Ireland was approved of, "with the like establishment of officers as in the English mint." (State Papers, vol. iii., p. 581.)

A.D. 1542.—NO PERSON IN IRELAND COMPETENT TO
ENGRAVE THE GREAT SEAL.

On the Sunday following, the 13th of June, 1541, Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland in St. Patrick's Church, Dublin (Irish Statutes, 33 Henry VIII., ch. 1), and at London on the 23rd of January following.

The King, in his letter to the Lord-Deputy and Council of Ireland on the 14th of April, 1542, says: "Furthermore, you shal understande, that we have inserted the name and title of King of Ireland into our stile, and placed it in suche sorte as followeth: Henricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Anglie, Frantie, et Hibernie Rex, Fidei Defensor, et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice

Supremum Caput.' Which our pleasure is you shall ensue there, and cause all our seales, having our stile in them, to be likewise altered, that booth realmes maye agree in the saide stile, as apperteyneth." (State Papers, vol. iii., p. 370.)

The Lord-Deputy and Council, in their dispatch to the King dated 2nd of June, 1542, say: "Toothing the alteration and reformyng of your Highnes style and tytle, and to make that your saide style, in bothe your Graces realmes, maye agree in one, we shall earnestly ensue the same, according our moste bounden dueties. Albeit concerning your Majesties pleasure for the alteration of your seales in that case, and especyally of your Graces Greate Seale, we can fynde none in thies parties that hathe the connyng to ingrave and alter the same, not [nor?] yet the same may be spared from hens, without great hyn-draunce both of your proffite, and your Majesties affaires and processe here. Wherefore, yf it be your Majesties pleasure to have the same alterid, they must be graven there and sent hither; for whiche purpose we sende, at this preasent, to your Highnes, the pryntes in wax of your saide seales." (State Papers, vol. iii., p. 389.)

The seals were accordingly engraved in England, and forwarded to Ireland on the 5th of March, 1543, as appears from the King's letter to the Lord-Deputy and Council: "We sende also, by this berer [George Cary], unto you, our Deputy, two seales, graven with our full style, whiche our pleasure is, you shall delyver to the officers having charge of them, in open presence of Coun-sail; and, taking in thold, to see the same presently defaced, and sent over by the next messenger." (State Papers, vol. iii., p. 442.)

On the 15th of May following, the Lord-Deputy, in his

dispatch to the King, says: "Allso, we have receyved, by the saide George Carew, two seales graven, the one being the Greate Seale of this your Graces realme, the other the seale of your Exchequer in the same. And according to your Majesties pleasure, I, your Deputie, in open preasence as well of your Grace's Prevy Counsaill, as other the Lordes and Nobles of this your realme, assembled to your Parliament holden here, have delyvered the Great Seale to your Chauncelor, the other to the Chauncelor of your Exchequer; and lykewise, in preasance of the sayde assembly, receyvid the olde seales, and ther fourthwith defaced them, whiche we have retourned to your Highnes by this bearer." (State Papers, vol. iii., p. 459.)

MS. HARL., No. 4004, FOL. 110.

[*Translation.*]

"2 Henry VIII., 26th March, 1511.

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that we of our favour and in consideration of the good and acceptable service which our dearly-beloved and faithful serjeant, and our counsellor, John Estrete, confers on us and intends to confer during his life, have given and granted, and by these presents give and grant to the same John the office of master of the coinage, or of making, striking, or working our money and that of our heirs within our land of Ireland. To have, hold, possess, and exercise to the same John, by himself or by sufficient deputy, or his sufficient deputies for who or whom he shall be willing to answer to us as long as he shall conduct himself well in

the same, receiving annually in the aforesaid office by his own hands, or by the hands of his deputy, the fees and wages of twenty pounds sterling, of the issues, profits, and revenues of the coinage or aforesaid money, in the aforesaid office. That is, at the feasts of Easter and St. Michael in equal portions together with such wages, fees, and rewards due and customary of old to the same office, notwithstanding that express mention of the real annual value of the aforesaid office, wages, fees, and other premises, or of other gifts or grants made by us or our progenitors before now by no means exists in these presents, or any statute, act, ordinance, or provision to the contrary, made, published, ordained, or provided. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 26th day of March, in the second year of our reign.

“By writ of Privy Seal, and of the date aforesaid by authority of Parliament.”

“Henricus, dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra ac in consideratione boni et acceptabilis servitii quod dilectus et fidelis serviens et consiliarius noster Johannes Estrete, nobis impendit et durante vita sua impendere intendit, dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus eidem Johanni officium Magistri Cunagii sive Numismatis nostri et heredum nostrorum infra terram nostram Hiberniæ, fiendi, cunandi, sive operandi. Habendum, tenendum, occupandum et exercendum eidem Johanni per se vel per sufficientem deputatum sive sufficientes deputatos suos pro quo vel quibus nobis respondere voluerit, quamdiu se bene gesserit in eodem, percipiendo

annuatim in officio prædicto feoda et vadia viginti librarum sterlingorum per manus suas proprias sive per manus deputati sui in officio prædicto de exitibus, proficuis, et reventionibus cunagii sive Numismatis predicti, videlicet ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis equis portionibus una cum hujusmodi vadiis, feodis, et regardis, eidem officio ab antiquo debitis et consuetis, eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo officii prædicti, vadiorum, feodarum, et cæterorum præmissorum aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos aut progenitores nostros ante hæc tempora factis, in præsentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione sive provisione in contrarium facto, edito, ordinato seu proviso non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri facimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo sexto die Martii anno regni nostro secundo.

“Per breve de privato sigillo et de data prædicta auctoritate Parlamenti.”

IRISH COINS WHICH WERE PROBABLY COINED BY
HENRY VIII., BUT ARE NOT KNOWN TO BE IN EXISTENCE.

1. The half-groat with the initial letters H · K on the reverse, and the legend, “France : Dominus : Hibernie.” There are half-groats with the initials H · A and H · I, two varieties of each, viz., “Dominus” and “Dns” on the reverse.

2. The three-farthing piece with the three-quarter face.

On the 19th of November, 1541, “A proclamation was issued to prevent the bringing of Irish coins into the realm of England. It began with stating that the King, in order to defray his great expenses in keeping up a large army in his land of Ireland, had ordained a coin of

money, as well of groats, as pence of twopence, to be current in Ireland only, bearing the print of the harp on one side. Which coins had lately been imported into England, to the great detriment of his Grace's land of Ireland, and of his said army, and subjects of the same, and also to the great deceit of his subjects in his realm of England." (Ruding, vol. ii., p. 433, from MS. in Lib. Soc. of Antiquaries.)

The mention of "pence of twopence" in this proclamation can only be applied to the half-groats with the initials of the King and three of his queens—Jane, Anne, and Katherine—as no half-groat with the initial letters H · R has yet been discovered.

In the commission to Rowlett and others, dated 13th of July, 1540, the "harpe-groat" is the only coin mentioned.

THE DATES OF THE MARRIAGE AND DEATH OF THE WIVES OF KING HENRY VIII.

(From "L'Art de vérifier les dates," tome i., pp. 819—822 ;
troisième édition, Paris, 1783.)

Katherine of Aragon :—

Married .	7th June (p. 819),	3rd June (p. 822),	1509.
Divorced		23rd May,	1533.
Died		8th January,	1536.

Anne Boleyn :—

Married secretly	14th November (p. 820),	1532.
	(25th January, p. 822.)	
Marriage confirmed by Cranmer	28th May,	1533.
„ ratified by Parliament	15th January,	1534.
Beheaded	19th May,	1536.

Jane Seymour :—

Married	20th May,	1536.
Died	13th October,	1537.

Anne of Cleves:—

Married	6th January, 1540.
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Divorced	9th July, 1540.
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Katherine Howard:—

Married	July ? 1540.
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Declared Queen by Parliament	8th August, 1540.
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Beheaded 1541 (p. 822), 13th February (p. 821) 1542.	
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Katherine Parr:—

Married	12th July, 1543.
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AQUILLA SMITH, M.D.

XIV.

NOTES ON THE IRISH COINS OF JAMES I.

24TH MARCH, 1603, TO 27TH MARCH, 1625.

SHILLINGS.

Obv.—The king's bust in figured armour to the right, wearing a crown with a single arch, the beard trimmed square and the shirt-collar turned down. Legend, IACOBVS · D · G · ANG · SCO · FRA · ET · HIB · REX ·. Mint-mark, a bell.

Rev.—A harp crowned within an inner beaded circle. Legend, EXVRGAT · DEVS · DISSIPENTVR · INIMICI · (Psalm lxxviii. v. 1: "Let God arise; let His enemies be scattered"). Mint-mark, a bell. Weight, 67·2 gr.

Another shilling of the same type, having a martlet or bird as a mint-mark on each side, weighs 66·7 grs.

These two shillings were coined in 1603.

On the 20th of October, 1604, new style, the king changed his title of King of England and Scotland, &c., into that of King of Great Britain, &c.¹

It appears from the proclamations issued in Ireland by James, as given in Simon's Appendix, No. xxvii.,² that the 1st of January was adopted as the commencement of

¹ By a proclamation dated the 17th of December, 1599, the order was made that the year should commence in Scotland on the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March, 1600. (Sir H. Nicolas, "Chronology of History," p. 40.)

² The 22nd of January, in the second year of his Majesty's reign, was in 1605, and not 1604, as stated by Simon in the margin.

the year, although the old style was subsequently used in Ireland until 1752, at which time the new style was introduced, pursuant to the statute 24 George II.

The type of the shilling of the second coinage is the same as that of the first coinage, but the legends are different.

Obv.—IACOBVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRA · ET ·
HIB · REX ·

Rev.—HENRICUS · ROSAS · REGNA · IACOBVS ·
("Henry united the roses, James the kingdoms").
Mint-mark, a bird on each side. Weight, 62 grs.
One in Brit. Mus. 69·8 grs.

One in Brit. Mus. has the rose struck upon the martlet.

Another shilling, with a rose mint-mark on each side, weighs 73·6 grs., and others 68·1 and 66·9. Shillings with the same mint-mark were struck in England in 1605.

A shilling with an escallop-shell mint-mark on each side weighs 61·9 grs. English shillings with the same mint-mark were struck in 1606.

A shilling with a cinquefoil mint-mark on each side weighs 65·5 grs. A similar mark appears on the English coins of 1613.

There are shillings which differ in some respects from those of the second coinage already described. The particulars in which they differ are—The crown has double arches, with six pearls on the outer arch; the king's bust is in plain plate armour; and there is a narrow ruff round the neck.

A shilling of this variety of type, with the escallop-shell mint-mark, weighs 67 grs. Another, with the cinquefoil mint-mark, weighs 68·7 grs.

SIXPENCES.

FIRST COINAGE.

Obv.—The king's bust to the right, in figured armour; the crown with a single arch; shirt-collar turned down. Legend, IACOBVS · D · G · ANG · SCO · FRA · ET · HIB · REX ·.

Rev.—A harp surmounted by a large crown which extends to the outer circle. Legend, TVEATVR · VNITA · DEVS ("Let God defend those who are united"). A bell (mint-mark) on each side. Weight, 32 grs. B.M. 34·8 grs.

One with a bird mint-mark weighs 37·6 grains. B.M. 33 grs.

SECOND COINAGE.

Obv.—IACOBVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRA · ET · HI · REX ·. Mint-mark, a rose on each side. Weight, 38·6 grs.

Another, with an escallop-shell mint-mark on each side, weighs 32·6 grs.

I have not met with a sixpence with the cinquefoil mint-mark.

Simon says that according to Malynes ("Lex Mercatoria," p. 305) the shilling of James should weigh 70·26 grs.

I do not know of any proof of James's Irish coins.

TABLE SHEWING THE DATE AND WEIGHT, ETC., OF THE
SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCES.

SHILLINGS.

Single-arched Crown.

Mint-mark.	Date.	Weight.	Reverse.
1. Bell . . .	1603	67·2 grs.	EXVRGAT.
2. Bird . . .	„	66·7 „	„

Mint-mark.	Date.	Weight.	Reverse.
3. Bird . . .	1604	62 grs.	HENRICVS.
4. Rose . . .	1605	73·6 „	„
5. Escallop-shell .	1606	61·9 „	„
6. Cinquefoil . .	1613	65·5 „	„

Double-arched Crown.

7. Escallop-shell .	1606	67 grs.	HENRICVS.
8. Cinquefoil . .	1613	68·7 „	„

SIXPENCES.

9. Bell . . .	1603	32 grs.	TVEATVR.
10. Bird . . .	1604	37·6 „	„
11. Rose . . .	1605	38·6 „	„
12. Escallop-shell .	1606	32·6 „	„

PUBLISHED ENGRAVINGS WITH REFERENCES TO THE
PRECEDING TABLE.

SHILLINGS.

- No. 1. Simon, pl. vi., fig. 124.
 1. Ruding, Suppl., part ii., pl. v., fig. 7.
 4. Simon, pl. vi., fig. 126.

SIXPENCES.

- No. 9. Simon, pl. vi., fig. 125.
 11. „ „ „ 127.

AQUILLA SMITH, M.D.

August, 1854.

APPENDIX.

Among the records preserved in the late Treasury of the Exchequer, in the Chapter House, Westminster, and in the custody of the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to the statute 1 and 2 Vic., c. 94, to wit, in the Collection of Miscellaneous Paper Documents, is contained the following:—

No. 3381. Trustie and welbeloved we greete you well
 Forasmuch as we have determined to alter oʳ monyes now

carrant in o^r Realme of Ireland into a newe standerd knowne to yo^u. Of which standerd o^r pleasure is that two sevall sortes of monyes be made vi^zte pieces of shillinge and sixe pence of convenyent compasse and breadth And the same to be graven with these formes vi^zt on the one side with o^r picture crowned and armed and o^r stile in y^e circūference and on the other side an harpe with a crowne imperiall with this circumscription on the shillinges Exurgat Deus dissipentur Inimici But of the sixepences Tueatur unita Deus We doe therefore will and co^mmaunde yo^u to give order to Charles Anthony Graver of o^r mint to cause to be graven both p^rsentlie and hereafter from time to time such number of Irons for the strikeinge of o^r saide monyes of the sevall kindes above men^coned as from time to time by order of the work-maisters of o^r saide monyes shalbe thought needfull to be had And whereas also for the better and more speedy doeing thereof it is fit that he be furnished of such gravers as are skilfull in that arte and fit for that purpose We have therefore licenced and authorized like as by these p^rntes we doe licence and authorize you o^r warden of o^r mint or yo^r deputie To take up and appoint such sufficient workmen to be employed in the saide workes within o^r Tower of London as you shall thinke convenient for the better execucon whereof we will and co^mmande all Maio^{rs} Sheriffes Bailiffes Constables and oth^r Officers to be aidinge and assistinge unto yo^u with their best endevor^s as they tender o^r pleasure and will answeere the contrary at their p^rles And these o^r lres shalbe as well to yo^u as to o^r saide Graver and such as you shall take up for this s^rvce sufficient warrant and discharge And forasmuch as o^r Officers of o^r mint doe complaine unto o^r councell that they had not convenient allowance for their extra-

ordinary attendance which they made when the monyes of the late standerd of Ireland were made in the life time of o^r late sister Alledginge that by reason of this o^r ſvice they are to give extraordinary attendāce We willinge that o^r saide Officers shoulde be considered of as well for their extraordinary travaill and attendance in the Irish ſvice paste As also for their paines and attendance in and about this o^r ſvice of Ireland hereafter Doe likewise will and require yo^u that yo^u paie or cause to be paid to o^r saide Officers of o^r mint over and besides their fees specified in the scedule of o^r Indenture of the mint for o^r monyes of England such so^me and so^mes of mony as by six of o^r privie Councell (whereof o^r Treasurer of England o^r principall Secretary and o^r Chancelour of o^r Exchequer to be two) yo^u shalbe required from time to time And we doe likewise will and require you to make reasonable allowance as well to the saide Gravers for their paines as to any other pson or psons which yo^u shall employe for the expedition of o^r ſvice in and about the makinge of o^r saide moneys und^r the avouchm^t of three of o^r Officers of o^r mint And these pⁿtes shalbe yo^r sufficient discharge in that behalfe Given under o^r signet (*sic*)

It is necessarye to passe the privye seale & to bee directed to Sir Thomas Knyvette knight warden of the minte.

In dorso P. Seale to S^r Tho: Knyvet for new money to be made of a new standard for Ireland.

iiij^{to} Aug: 1603.

XV.

ON THE DATES OF ISSUE OF SOME UNDATED MODERN TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.¹

ARMAGH AND LURGAN.

1. *Obv.*—JA^S ARMSTRONG . & C^O IRONMONGERS . & . GROCERS .
ARMAGH.

Rev.—W^M ARMSTRONG . & SON . SILK . MERCERS . HABER-
DASHERS . &C. LURGAN.

Date.—1850.

ATHLONE, MOATE, AND TULLAMORE.

2. *Obv.*—BURGESS . & . C^O DRAPERS . MERCERS . CHURCH . S^T
ATHLONE & MAIN . S^T MOATE.

Rev.—CHURCH . S^T ATHLONE . MAIN . S^T MOATE . & . WILLIAM
S^T TULLAMORE.

Date.—1839.

BALLYMENA.

3. *Obv.*—GREENE . & . SINCLAIR . BALLYMENA (a hat).

Rev.—WOOLEN . DRAPERS . HABBERDASHERS . BOOTS . AND .
SHOES.

Date.—1845.

(This token was never issued, in consequence
of the misspelling of "haberdashers.")

BELFAST.

4. *Obv.*—VICTORIA . QUEEN . OF . GREAT . BRITAIN (bust of the
Queen).

¹ Supplemental to N.S. vol. xvii. pp. 157—162.

Rev.—WILLIAM . GILMORE . TEA . DEALER . GROCER . FRUIT .
WINE . & . SPIRIT . MERCHANT . 14 . HIGH . S^T BEL-
FAST.

Date.—1853.

5. *Obv.*—MACKENZIE . & . SAUNDERS . BELFAST (thistle and
shamrock).

Rev.—PAYABLE . AT . THE . SCOTCH . HOUSE . N^O 36 . HIGH .
STREET.

Date.—1847.

6. *Obv.*—JOHN . G . M^CGEE . & . C^O CLOTHIERS . & . HATTERS . 46
& 48 . HIGH . S^T BELFAST.

Rev.—PANTECHNETHECA . THE . BEST . SATIN (a hat with 15/0
on it) SIX . PRICES . ONLY . 4/6 . 6/- . 8/- . 10/- .
12/- . 15/-.

Date.—1844.

CORK.

7. *Obv.*—W^M FITZGIBBON . & . C^O CORK.

Rev.—W^M FITZGIBBON . & . C^O CORK.

Date.—1835.

DOWNPATRICK.

8. *Obv.*—HUGH . CROSRERY . WINE . SPIRIT . & . TEA . MER-
CHANT.

Rev.—PAYABLE . AT . MY . NEW . ESTABLISHMENT . DOWN-
PATRICK . ONE . FARTHING (a sprig of shamrock at
each side of the words MY . NEW).

Date.—1852.

DUBLIN.

9. *Obv.*—THE . ABBEY . P . C . CLARE . LANE . 2^D

Rev.—PARKES.

Date.—1866.

(Issued by Peter Curran.)

10. *Obv.*—VICTORIA . REGINA (bust of the Queen).

Rev.—M . W . DONOHUE . N^O 1 . FITZWILLIAM . LANE . DUBLIN.

Date.—1847.

11. *Obv.*—FRANCIS . DOYLE . HADDINGTON . ROAD . 2^D (a horse galloping).

Rev.—Blank.

Date.—1853.

12. *Obv.*—VICTORIA . REGINA (bust of the Queen).

Rev.—EMERALD . HOTEL . 65 . THOMAS ST (a wreath of sham-rocks).

Date.—1857.

13. *Obv.*—M . F . 9 . DUKE . S^T 2^D $\frac{1}{2}$ (a dove with olive-branch in mouth).

Rev.—J . C . PARKES . DUBLIN.

Date.—1853.

14. *Obv.*—Bust of the Queen.

Rev.—GEO . S . F . FITZHUGH . 9 . COLLEGE . STREET (a rose).

Date.—1852.

15. *Obv.*—VICTORIA . REGINA (bust of the Queen).

Rev.—GREGORY . KANE . MILITARY . PORTMANTUA . WAREHOUSE . 69 . DAME . S^T DUBLIN . DRESSING . CASES . TRUNKS . &C. (a small portmanteau).

Date.—1853.

16. *Obv.*—KERNAN . & . C^O AERATED . MINERAL . WATERS . 88 & 89 . CAMDEN . S^T

Rev.—J . C . PARKES . DUBLIN.

Date.—1868.

17. *Obv.*—MICHAEL . KILLEEN . WOOLLEN . DRAPER (bust of the Queen).

Rev.—NATIONAL . WOOLEN . HALL . DAME . STREET . DUBLIN.

Date.—1846.

18. *Obv.*—J . LARGE . 26 . LINCOLN . PLACE . DUBLIN.

Rev.—A jockey riding a horse.

Date.—1854.

19. *Obv.*—VICTORIA . REGINA (bust of the Queen).

Rev.—MATTHEW . CLOTHIER . AND . DRAPER . 38 . UPPER . SACK-
VILLE . S^T DUBLIN . ORDERS . EXECUTED . WITH .
DISPATCH . AND . THE . MOST . MODERATE . PROFIT .

Date.—1844.

20. *Obv.*—Bust of the Queen.

Rev.—J . MOONEY . 142 . L^R BAGGOT . S^T (a wreath).

Date.—1852.

21. *Obv.*—Bust of the Queen.

Rev.—M . O'CALLAGHAN . 2^D 43 . BOLTON . S^T

Date.—1856.

(Struck for Margaret O'Callaghan.)

22. *Obv.*—Bust of the Queen.

Rev.—ORMOND . HOTEL . 2^D

Date.—1863.

23. *Obv.*—J . PLUNKETT . LEATHER . MERCHANT . 1 . AUNGIER . S^T
DUBLIN (bust of the Queen).

Rev.—IMPORTERS . OF . FRENCH . & ENGLISH . LEATHER .
SHOE . TRIMMINGS . & C . WHOLESALE . & . RETAIL .

Date.—1847.

24. *Obv.*—Bust of the Queen.

Rev.—THE . SHAKSPEARE . F . M . H .

Date.—1856.

25. *Obv.*—VICTORIA . REGINA (bust of the Queen).

Rev.—SAM^L SLOMAN . & C^O (a horseshoe, on which is
OLD . HORSE . SHOE) HOTEL . & . TAVERN . 65 .
THOMAS . S^T DUBLIN .

Date.—1852.

26. *Obv.*—Bust of the Queen.

Rev.—CITY . ARMS . HOTEL . & . TAVERN . C . W . T . 2 . AUN-
GIER . STREET .

Date.—1853.

27. *Obv.*—THOMPSON . & . C^O N . 49 SOUTH . KING . S^T DUBLIN .

Rev.—N^O 49 SOUTH . KING . STREET . THE . PORTER . BARM .
BAKERY . DUBLIN .

Date.—1817.

28. *Obv.*—VICTORIA . REGINA (bust of the Queen).

Rev.—W^M TOMBLINSON . N^O 1 . FITZWILLIAM . LANE . DUBLIN.

Date.—1856.

29. *Obv.*—WATERHOUSE . & . COMP^Y . GOLDSMITHS . SILVERSMITHS .
WATCH . MAKERS . JEWELLERS . & . MEDALLISTS . 25 .
DAME . STREET . DUBLIN.

Rev.—A sideboard, with various pieces of plate on it.

Date.—1842.

30. *Obv.*—W^M WHITESTONE . 24 . NORTH EARL . S^T DUBLIN . IRON-
MONGERY . BRUSHES . SADDLERY . JAPANNED . WARES .
&c.

Rev.—GOOD . ARTICLES . SMALL . PROFITS . CASH . ONLY . NO .
ABATEMENT (front view of his establishment) with
NEW . IRONMONGERY . on front, and beneath the
word HALL.

Date.—1855.

GLASGOW.

31. *Obv.*—R . W . FORSYTH . 5 . & 7 . RENFIELD . S^T GLASGOW
(bust of R. W. Forsyth).

Rev.—ACME . SHIRT . TRADE . MARK (Phœbus driving his
quadriga).

Date.—1875.

LONGFORD.

32. *Obv.*—Bust of the Queen.

Rev.—JOHN . MAXWELL . LONGFORD.

Date.—1852.

RATHDOWNEY.

33. *Obv.*—ROBERT . PERRY . & . SONS . BREWERS . RATHDOWNEY . 1/-.

Rev.—Blank.

Date.—1869.

Nos. 6, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 20—24, 26, 32, and 33 are in the
cabinets of W. J. Gillespie, Esq., Whitehall, Stillorgan.

Nos. 10, 12, 19, and 25 are in the cabinets of William
Frazer, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A., &c., 20, Harcourt Street, Dublin.

B. W. ADAMS, D.D.

XVI.

ITALIAN MEDALS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.¹

A WRITER, quoted by Vasari, speaking of an Italian painter and medalist, his contemporary, says, "He was exceedingly clever in the execution of basso-relievo, a work esteemed most difficult by artists, as it holds the mean between painting and sculpture."² Whether the art of the medalist should by right stand between painting and sculpture I will not here inquire ; but there can be no doubt that this description applies very accurately, and in more ways than one, to this art as displayed upon the Italian medals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I say in more ways than one, because what is very noticeable about this medallic series is, that it divides itself into two groups, one of which seems formed under the influence of sculpture, the second under the influence of painting. Something of the same difference has been observed among distinct schools of Greek coin engraving, though here the difference is much less marked.³

The line of demarcation lies, for all practical purpose,

¹ The large size of Italian medals makes it impossible to illustrate a paper of this sort with any fulness. Casts of a larger number of medals were shown when the paper was read ; and almost all those specially referred to are to be found in the exhibition of Italian medals in the British Museum.

² Compare K. O. Müller's *Arch. der Kunst*, § 27.

³ See "*Num. Chron.*," 1864, "Greek Coins as illustrating Greek Art," by R. S. Poole.

at the division of the two centuries. When looking over any series of Italian medals made during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we are at once struck by the distinctive characteristics which mark the groups belonging to the earlier or the later period. There seems to be scarcely any point at which the former series fades into the latter. There may be a little overlap. Some medalist of the earlier epoch may carry on his method into the succeeding cycle; another who essentially belongs to the later school may be found at work before the sixteenth century begins. But this is almost all the concession we shall find towards an approach between the two cases. The fifteenth century medals are, as a rule, much the larger in actual size. They are, too, larger in style of treatment. They are the most noticeable for their obverses, that is, for the portraits which they display. The sixteenth century medals, on the other hand, often show reverse designs of really wonderful beauty as well as of skilful execution. There are some technical differences too between the two series. The earlier medals are always cast in moulds; those of the second age are very frequently struck from dies. All such minor differences, however, are insignificant compared to the great one which has been already pointed out between the sculptural treatment of the one series and the picturesque treatment of the other.

I believe it to be the case—I will not dogmatically assert that it was so, but leave the suggestion to be considered by those who are competent to decide upon its truth—that in the fifteenth century sculpture exercised a more commanding influence upon art than it did later on. I am not forgetful of the great personality of the “divine Michelangelo;” but him we must, I think, look upon as

the single exception to the rule of the decadence of Italian sculpture in the sixteenth century. He stands as much alone in the whole method of his art as he was in his life. This art even is rather that of decadence than of the prime: of Michelangelo we may say that the grandeur of conception, which is his own, is not unfrequently marred by the faults belonging to the age in which he lived. At an earlier time, on the other hand, before the distinctly classical renaissance, both painting and sculpture could trace their descent in some sort from the art of the Middle Ages, and sculpture was the elder brother. No contemporary painter can bear comparison with Nicolo of Pisa, and even he was but the child of still more forgotten forefathers. Vasari notices the undated, unsigned monuments which met his eye in the old churches of Italy, and notices, too, as we always must in the art of the Middle Ages, the touching memorial such silent monuments contain of the unworldliness and the simplicity of those who raised them.⁴ At last during the age with which we are dealing, the early school of Italian sculpture touches its highest point of beauty in the works of Donatello, who must be reckoned at least the equal of any painter of his own century. After the time of Donato the painters, were it merely by their number and the number of their productions, very far outweighed the sculptors in public estimation.

⁴ "There existed in the time of Lapo and of Arnulfo many buildings of great importance both in Italy and in other countries, of which I have never been able to discover the artists. (He mentions some in Italy.) All these I have well examined, together with many works of sculpture of the same time, more particularly in Ravenna, without being able to find any memorial whatever of the masters, and very often uncertain as to the age in which they were constructed. So that I cannot but remark upon the simplicity and indifference to glory exhibited by the men of that period."—"Vita d'Arnulfo di Lapo."

The names which form the first group of Italian medalists are Pisano, or Pisanello, Sperandio, Matteo Pasti, Giovanni Boldù, Melioli, and many others; and of these Pisanello takes by far the highest place. He is strangely enough almost the only medalist of this age mentioned by Vasari. With him the medallic art of Italy may be said to begin. One medal has indeed been ascribed to Donatello, and Lorenzo Ghiberti is spoken of as having executed some pieces; but these are, I believe, no longer known. Our conclusion that the dominating influence in medallic art emanated from sculpture, is in no way affected by the fact that this first great medalist is a painter; for he must have worked agreeably to the tradition of his age. Vittore Pisano was a native of Verona, a pupil of Andrea del Castagno; and partly on account of the reputation of his master, he was called to work in Rome by Pope Martin V. Most of his works, however (so his biographer tells us) were to be found in his native city—a St. Eustace, who is caressing a dog which has its feet against the leg of the Saint, and at the same time turns its head back as though it heard some noise, “and this with so much animation that a living dog could not do it better;” a St. George, “in white or rather silver armour,” who, having just slain the dragon, is replacing his sword in its sheath. “He raises his right hand which holds the sword, the point of which is already in the scabbard, and lowering the left that the increased distance may facilitate the descent of the weapon, which is a long one, he does this with so much grace and in so life-like a manner, that nothing better could be seen.” These pictures, and another of St. George, in the same silver armour, in act of mounting his horse, and an Annunciation in the Church of San Fermo Mag-

giore, all at Verona, are selected for especial praise. His paintings are now very rare. Yet there is one in our National Gallery. It represents a meeting of St. Anthony and St. George. The colouring of the face of St. George is of peculiar beauty and delicacy of execution; such, too, is the treatment of the "white or rather silver armour" which he wears. His head is shaded by a broad-brimmed straw hat, and at his feet lies the dead dragon. Beside St. Anthony, in red, lies his swine. Two heads of horses appear at the left.

Pisano took peculiar delight in animals. He nearly always introduced one or more into his pictures, and executed them with great skill. The foreshortening of the horse in one of the St. Georges is much praised by Vasari. Evidences of the same taste and the same skill are to be found in Pisano's medals. Nothing can be finer than the eagle and vultures upon one medal of Alfonzo of Naples, and the boar and dogs upon another. On the reverse of the medal of John VII., Paleologus, the Byzantine emperor, there are two horses, one displayed at full length, the other most ingeniously foreshortened. Let us notice, too, the reverse of one of the medals of Sigismondo Pandolfo da Malatesta. It shows a man in armour putting his sword into his sheath in much the same attitude as that of the other St. George at Verona, though in this case the figure has the vizor down (Pl. I.). Examples of the way in which an artist may copy himself or others in smaller works, such as these, are interesting in relation to so many branches of glyptic art, beside the one we are concerned with here.

The beauty of his birds and animals is a gift of Pisano's own: his other excellencies are shared in a greater or less degree by the medalists of his time. The character-

istic superiority of the fifteenth century medals lies in the portraiture on the obverse side. The modelling of the faces is in the best instances—and these best instances are still Pisanello's—really beyond all praise. The treatment is at once singularly large and careful: no important or characteristic trait is omitted, and at the same time the eye is not fatigued by a needless minuteness of detail. The method adopted is in all cases casting, as we have said; but the effect is heightened by chasing with an engraver's tool chiefly about the hair and eyes. In this astonishing series of portraits the chief actors in the tragedies and comedies of those times pass before us, their characters written in their faces. Alfonso the Magnanimous of Naples, Federigo of Urbino, the elder Cosimo de' Medici, that brutal and scholarly condottiere, Sigismondo Pandolfo da Malatesta, the treacherous Filippo Maria of Milan, and his son-in-law Francesco Sforza. And side by side with these kings and dukes we have some of the humanists of the time, such as Guarino, Pic-della-Mirandola.

It is worth while to compare the medals of Ercole d'Este with a beautiful bas-relief of him, in marble, to be seen in the South Kensington Museum, so like is the treatment in the two cases; or the medals of Leonello d'Este by Pisanello and Sperandio, with his portrait by Giovanni Oriolo. In truth the details of costume, &c., in the picture are almost identically reproduced⁵ in one of

⁵ Vasari says in one place of Pisano:—"The same master executed numerous castings of medallions containing portraits of princes and other personages of his time. *From these medallions many likenesses in painting have since been made.*" Therefore it is likely enough that Oriolo's portrait was not from life. Nothing could have more the appearance of being copied from a medal than this stiff likeness has.

the portraits by Pisanello. The face is more pleasing—or one may say less ugly—as portrayed by Oriolo than upon the medals. In the latter we miss the characteristic feature of the bright, red hair, which seems to soften down the harshness of the others.

Pisano's biographer publishes a letter from "Monsignore Giovio" to Duke Cosmo de' Medici, which, as it gives a sort of list of the works of the artist known to the Bishop, may as well be quoted here :

"There are many highly esteemed medals of great princes by his hand. They are in a large form, and of the same proportions with that reverse of the comparisoned and barbed horse which Guidi has sent me. Among the works of this kind in my possession is a portrait of the great King Alfonso, wearing no other head-dress than his hair; on the reverse is the helmet of a general. I have, besides a medal of Pope Martin, and bearing the arms of the Colonna on the reverse, with that of Sultan Mahomet, who took Constantinople, an equestrian figure, in a Turkish habit, holding a scourge in his hand. Of Sigismondo Malatesta, likewise, I have the portrait, with that of Madonna Isotta of Rimini on the reverse, and of Niccolo Piccinino, wearing an oblong barretta on the head, with the reverse sent me by Guidi, which I return. In addition to these I have also a very beautiful medal of John Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, with that strange-looking head-dress, after the Greekish manner, which the Emperor used to wear. This last was made by the same Pisano in Florence at the time of the council held by Pope Eugenius, whereat the aforesaid Emperor was present: the reverse of this bears the cross of Christ sustained by two hands, that of the Latin Church, namely, and that of the Greek."

Vasari continues:—"So far Giovio. Vittore Pisano likewise executed the portraits, also on medals, of Filippo de' Medici, Archbishop of Pisa, Braccio da Montone, Giovan Galleozzo Visconti, Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, Giovanni Caracciolo, Grand Seneschal of Naples, with those of Borso and Ercole d'Este, and of many other nobles and personages renowned in arms or distinguished for learning."⁶

Next after Pisano, Sperandio was the most prolific medalist of this century. He is not mentioned by Vasari, and we know little about him save that he worked at the court of Ferrara, that he died at an age of more than eighty years in 1528, and was (according to Zanni) a gem engraver as well as a medalist. He belongs rather to the end than the beginning of the fifteenth century; and though he and Pisano many times executed portraits of the same persons, the earlier master must be placed on the whole about thirty years before Sperandio. The most numerous of Sperandio's medals, next to those made for the Estes, are of various members of the Bentivoglio family, of Pope Julius II. and his brother Bartolommeo della Rovera, Francesco and Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, and others of less note. It is curious to see how nearly he must have worked contemporaneously with Francesco Francia, and yet how different are the styles of the two artists.

Matteo Pasti, or Pasto, a Veronese, wrought chiefly for Sigismondo Malatesta—who it is known combined a genuine love of art and literature with a nature of singular coarseness and ferocity—and for his wife Isotta.

⁶ A pretty complete list of Vittore Pisano's medals is to be found in M. Albert's "*Médailleurs Italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles.*"

We have from his hand medals of Alberti, Guarino, Maffei, and Benedetto Pasti, brother of the medalist. Giovanni Boldù, Guaccialotti, Enzola, and Melioli have left us pieces of great merit: Lixignolo, Nicolo Fiorentino, Clemente da Urbino have left us single medals, or but one or two. Two or three sculptors and painters of excellence have also produced such single specimens, some of which still remain; as a medal by Donatello himself, by his pupil Michelozzo, by Gentile Bellini and Antonio Pollajuolo.

We know somewhat more about the medalists of the sixteenth century. There is a greater variety in their production, more skill in the details of execution, but a lower artistic level throughout. Francesco Francia stands out as one of the earliest, and by far the greatest name among them, though his extant works in this branch of art are few. Francia we class distinctly among what are called pre-Raphaelite artists, and the style of his medals is, upon the whole, similar to that of his pictures: thus there is a certain line of demarcation between him (and those whose work resembles his) and the later medalists of the same century. But the first are separated still more decisively from the fifteenth-century artificers. Francia, we know, began life as a goldsmith: he acted for some time as Mint-Master to Giovanni (II.) Bentivoglio, Lord of Bologna; and his designs for the coins of this State, bearing the head of Bentivoglio most excellently drawn, with fine, straight hair such as we see in Francia's pictures, are not among the least noticeable of his works in this art.⁷ When Julius II. ousted Bentivoglio from his

⁷ Pl. II. No. 2. The head of John Bentivoglio upon the coins and medals by Francia resembles most closely that of a

lordship, Francia passed over to the service of this new master.

“That in which Francia delighted above all else, and in which he was indeed excellent, was in cutting dies for medals; in this he was highly distinguished, and his works are most admirable, as may be judged from some on which is the head of Pope Julius II., so life-like that these medals will bear comparison with those of Caradosso.⁸ He also struck medals of Signor Giovanni Bentivoglio, which seem to be alive; and of a vast number of princes who, passing through Bologna, made a certain delay, when he took their portraits in wax, and afterwards, having finished the matrices of the dies, he despatched these to their destination, whereby he obtained not only the immortality of fame, but also very handsome presents.

“During the better part of his life Francesco was Director of the Mint at Bologna. All the dies for the coins used at the time when the Bentivogli governed there were prepared by him, as were those struck by Pope Julius II. after their departure, and during the whole of that pope’s after life. Of these may be instanced the money coined by the Pope on his entrance, which bears the head of his Holiness, taken from the life, upon one side, with the inscription *Bononia per Julium a tyranno liberata* on the other. And so excellent was Francesco considered to be in this matter, that he con-

beautiful bas-relief in marble, which bears the inscription, ANTONIUS · BAL · ANNUM · AGENS · XVIII. This is engraved by Litta, “*Famiglie celebri Italiane*,” s. v. Bentivoglio di Bologna. Another portrait is in a fresco, by Costa, in the Church of San Giovanni Maggiore of Bologna.

⁸ Pl. II. No. 3. The portrait on the medals of Julius, by Caradosso and Francia, is curiously unlike that by Raphael. Nor does the difference lie merely in the presence of the beard upon the latter.

tinued to make the dies for the coinage even down to the time of Pope Leo. The impress of his dies is, indeed, in such esteem, and so highly are they valued by those who possess them, that they are not now to be obtained for money.”—(Vasari.)

Other medallic works of Francia than those here alluded to we know of none.

Pomedello stands beside Francia in style and merit. He was a Veronese. His medals, with one or two which may be classed as the works of a “Venetian school” of medalists, are the indications of a transition style between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Pomedello belongs most distinctively to the later school; but it is possible that many of his pieces were executed before the close of the fifteenth century. We have unfortunately few medals from the hand of this admirable master. Federigo (II.) Gonzaga, Ludovico Canossa, Elizabetha Vicentina (of Vicenza), whoever she may have been, Isabella Michele, Tommaso Moro, Stefano Magno, Giovanni Emo, are certainly his. One of a certain Jacoba Correggia⁹ is of rare beauty and quite in his style. Another medal of Lucrezia Borgia is disputed between him and Filippino Lippi.

In the works of Caradosso the medallic art of the fifteenth century reaches its full development, and rises, perhaps, to its highest point. We may place side by side this artist and Cesare da Bagno. Their medals, be it noticed, are of a larger diameter than most of the pieces executed during this century. They are consequently, like the medals of the earlier time, cast, and not struck from dies; but they are not the less typically in the sixteenth century style. Nothing could, perhaps, surpass

⁹ Pl. II. No. 1.

the beauty of a reverse by Cesare da Bagno.¹⁰ It represents Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides. He has one leg bent and resting upon the dead dragon, while he plucks a golden apple from the tree. His lion's skin lies over one arm and one leg, and the club is upon the back of the dragon. The figure itself, with the noble attitude and perfect modelling of chest and limb, may recall the manner of Titian, as does still more the wide and varied landscape shown behind. The effect is completely that of a picture. The best medals by Caradosso are those of Julius II., the medals with which Vasari says Francia's may be compared. One of these has for reverse the Church of St. Peter's,¹¹ not as it was eventually built, but according to the original design of Bramante.

Julius II. began the construction of a new St. Peter's, and the designs for this building were furnished by Bramante, from whom the superintendence of the work passed in succession to a number of artists, among whom were Raphael and Michelangelo. The original plan was considerably altered before the present St. Peter's was finished. It is interesting, therefore, to have Bramante's first design upon this medal of Julius. The other medal has for reverse a rocky landscape with a shepherd and sheep. It is difficult, in point of excellence, to choose between the portraits of Julius by Francia and by Caradosso; and it is certain that the reverses by the latter will bear comparison with any others which can be found in the series of sixteenth century medals, saving alone the medal of Cesare da Bagno.

These reverse designs of Caradosso introduce us to a question in the history of Italian medal-engraving with which we have not yet been brought in contact, Can we

¹⁰ Pl. III. No. 3.

¹¹ Pl. II. No. 4.

divide the various designs which the sixteenth century produces in Italy into any distinct schools of medallic art, as we can distinguish the various schools of painting? So far as I have been able to judge, there are only two series of medals and medalists which can, with any show of probability, be grouped together to form two schools; even this cannot be done without passing over some grave difficulties which the lives of the medalists themselves throw in our way. First, there is unquestionably a strong resemblance between the works of some three or four artists, all of whom worked at some time or other—but almost contemporaneously—at Rome, and for one or other of the popes. They have thus a point of contact—namely, Rome—and we may call them the Roman school. The second may be called the Venetian school: it comprises one or two medalists of no great merit, whom we shall mention hereafter.

The first medalist of our so-called Roman school is Caradosso, of whom we have already spoken. By birth he was a Milanese. He worked for Julius II. and Leo X. Beside the medals of these popes, he has left us one of Bramante, the architect, and of some members of the Sforza and Trivulzi families.

Alessandro Cesati, a native of Cyprus, a Greek, and for this reason generally called *Il Greco*, *Il Grechetto*, wrought for Paul III., Alessandro Farnese, and for other members of his family. Vasari gives, as I cannot but think, exaggerated praise to his performances. “Far beyond all others,” he says, “has gone Alessandro Cesati, called *Il Greco*, by whom every other artist is surpassed in the grace and perfection as well as the universality of his productions. The works of this master, whether in cameos with the lathe he has essential *relievi* or *intagli di*

cavo, or whether he produces dies in steel with the gravers, are of such perfect excellence, and exhibit all the minutiae of art rendered with such assiduous and patient care, that better could not even be imagined. And whoever shall desire to be amazed at the wonders performed by this Alessandro, let him examine a medal executed for Pope Paul III.: the portrait of that pontiff, namely, so treated that it really seems to be alive; with the reverse exhibiting Alexander the Great, who, having thrown himself at the feet of the High Priest of Jerusalem, is doing homage to that pontiff—figures of which the beauty is astonishing. It would not be possible to produce anything better. Nay, Michelangelo himself, looking at them one day while Giorgio Vasari was present, remarked that the hour for the death of art had arrived, since it was not possible that a better could be seen." This is certainly high praise enough.

The third of this series is Pietro Paolo Galeotto, called Romano, who, Vasari says, "has made, and is making, dies for Duke Cosimo." This is Cosmo, the second of that name, first Grand Duke of Tuscany. Galeotto made medals also for Ottavio Farnese, Giambattista Grimaldi, Gian Jacobo de' Medici, brother of Pius IV., Filiberto of Saxony, and the younger Francesco Sforza, with many others of less consequence, but not for any of the popes. His works are extremely numerous, and belong to quite the later development of sixteenth-century art.

Two medalists of high excellence may be placed together on account of a certain likeness of manner which they display, though there was in life no connection between them. These are Valerio Belli, of Vicenza, and Lione Lioni, of Arezzo. The first was born in 1468 or 1478, and died in 1546; Lioni belongs to the second half of

this century. Belli was a stone engraver as well as a die engraver, and so diligent a worker that at his death he left behind him a hundred and fifty dies and moulds. His medals are, however, by no means common. All that I have ever seen were certainly not struck, but cast. They have a peculiar softness, and a certain breadth of treatment. One of the best is a medal of Cardinal Pietro Bembo, a piece which is often assigned to Benvenuto Cellini, in defiance of the evidence of style and of Cellini's own words.¹² I have no hesitation in ascribing it to Valerio. Lione Lioni was a silversmith and a sculptor, and therefore a man of higher artistic acquirements than Belli, but his medals scarcely equal those of the elder medalist. Vasari speaks in high praise of Lioni's performances as a sculptor, the greatest of which was a bronze statue of Charles V. Lioni brought into requisition his silversmith's art, and made a suit of armour of thin silver plates, with which the nude figure could upon occasion be clothed. When the figure was completed he made a large die for the purpose of striking medals of the Emperor; on the reverse was Jupiter launching his thunderbolt at the Titans. "For these works his Majesty gave the artist a pension of a hundred and fifty ducats, secured on the Mint of Milan, with a commodious house in the Contrada de' Moroni. Charles also made him a Knight, conferring at the same time a patent of nobility upon his descendants; and while Lioni was in Brussels he had rooms in the palace of the Emperor, who sometimes amused himself by

¹² Cellini expressly tells that, because Bembo wore a short beard in the Venetian manner, he found it extremely difficult to take the portrait to his own satisfaction. A beard of the Venetian manner would be such an one as in Pastorino's portrait of the same personage (Pl. III. No. 1). The beard in Belli's portrait is a very long one.

going to see the artist at his work." The same artist made statues of many of the nobility about the court of the Emperor, as of Alva, Cardinal Granvelle, &c.

In his delightful autobiography Benvenuto Cellini gives us full information concerning the medals which he made. These are not very numerous. Cellini was Master of the Mint at different times for Pope Clement VII. and for Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence—the same who was murdered by his cousin Lorenzo—and made coins for both these princes. For Pope Clement he made two medals, each having the portrait of Clement on the obverse; on the reverse of one a figure of Peace, "a little female dressed in a thin garment, a torch in her hand; a heap of arms tied together like a trophy, near to which was a temple with a figure of Discord bound by many chains. Around are these words for a motto, *Clauduntur belli portæ*." The other medal shows Moses in the act of striking the rock before the children of Israel in the desert, with the inscription, *Ut bibat populus*. Of the portrait on these pieces Vasari says, in his usual phrase, "They are so like they seem to breathe." Cellini, as we may guess, had not a worse opinion of them, and by his account Clement, when the medals were shown to him, exclaimed to those who were standing by, "Were the ancients ever so successful in striking medals as we are?" The working of these pieces is extremely careful and minute: they are perfect specimens of a goldsmith's skill, but they will not bear comparison with the grander earlier medals of this century—with the work of Pomedello, or Francia, of Caradosso, Da Bagno, or Il Greco.

Distinct from all the artists yet mentioned, but scarcely inferior to any of them, stands Pastorino of Siena. He

confined himself almost altogether to portraiture, and perfected very nearly this branch of the art. A very large number of his works are known—chiefly lead proofs struck from dies and without reverses—and there is a fine representative series in the British Museum. In such a portrait as that of Pietro Bembo given on Pl. III. No. 1, he shows the perfection of his manner, which has not, of course, the grandeur of the medals of the fifteenth century. Nor is the portrait equal even to that by Valerio Belli, but it is full of delicacy and beauty. Delicacy, indeed, rather than vigour is this artist's forte: his work is the exact antithesis of that of Pisano. The former gives us all the strength and character of the men of his age; Pastorino, on his part, succeeds best with women and boys.

The artists whom we have just referred to as forming a Venetian school are Spinelli and one or two others who have left us medals of the Doges, small struck medals of a second-rate order for the most part. There is, however, in this series, one very fine portrait of Leonardo Loredano (Doge, 1501—1521), the same who has been so beautifully painted by Giovanni Bellini. With these Venetian medals we may place those of Cavino, "the Paduan," a very voluminous and very skilful producer, but not an artist of the first order. He is best known for his imitations of Roman large brass coins. These are sometimes so good that they cannot be well distinguished from their models. The same habit of close imitation of Roman medallie art is observable on Cavino's personal medals, though there are one or two which show that he could have risen higher if he trusted himself to works of more originality.

There are other medals and artists on which I have no

space to dwell: the beautiful and rare productions of Primavera, whose medal of Mary Queen of Scots has already been published in the plates of the "Numismatic Chronicle" (1877); those of Trezzo of Milan, who worked for Philip of Spain and Mary of England; and the works of the later artists of this century—of Federigo Bonzagna, called Federigo Parmense, Giovanni Antonio Rossi, Ascanio, Melon, of the two Poggini, and the two younger Lioni (Ludovico and Pompeo), of Giuliano, and of Michele Mazza. There are, beside, a large number, either the works of medalists of whom little or nothing is known, and who have left single or rare examples of their art behind, or altogether anonymous, and yet fully equal to the highest standard of their times. The medal of Jacoba Correggia—which we have attributed to Pomedello—is one example of the excellence of many unsigned works; another example is the medal of Cardinal Bembo (not Pastorino's), which is most probably by Valerio Belli. On Pl. III. No. 4 is represented a medal of quite unsurpassed beauty for the time to which it belongs, the fullest growth of the sixteenth century art. The obverse presents a female bust with the legend, FAVSTINA RO. O. P.¹³; the reverse, Leda and the swan, represented in the spirit of that age, with some grossness, but with rare excellence of design. Who may be the person represented upon the obverse we can no more tell than who was the

¹³ If this be interpreted *Romæ optima Princeps* (or *Principessa*) then the person here represented would be Faustina Colonna (of the Colonne di Roma), d. of Camillo Colonna, who mar. Giantomaso di Capua, Marchese della Torre di Francolese. It is generally assumed (on account of the reverse) that she was of a position much less reputable than that of a Faustina Colonna. The reason for this assumption seems to me, considering the feeling of those times, insufficient. No. 5 is by the same artist.

artist of the medal. We might be inclined to attribute the obverse to Pastorino, but there is no other example of such a reverse by his hand. Another medal, unsigned and not inferior to this, has the head of Christ, and on the reverse the Crucifixion, treated with wonderful artistic skill, especially as regards the drawing of all the figures in this complicated design. Unfortunately, it is too large to be given in our plates. I should be inclined to attribute it to Da Bagno or to Il Grechetto. No such work is mentioned among the productions of the latter.

In conclusion, one word regarding the tests of genuineness in these Italian medals. It is a question of some interest to collectors, whom we generally find less capable of discriminating between the true and the spurious in this numismatic series than in any other. There is not much difficulty when we come to the struck medals, for any one with a practised eye may be assumed capable of distinguishing between pieces which are struck and those which are cast. But almost all the medals of the sixteenth century which are beyond a certain breadth (about two inches), many smaller ones among the earliest medals of this century, and all those of the preceding century, have been cast in moulds, and it is naturally a difficult thing to distinguish the original casting from a cast taken from an impression of the medal itself. An accurate judgment can, as in most such cases, only be formed after some practice and training of the eye; but it may be set down as a rule that to be genuine every Italian medal must have a surface both smooth and with a certain look of hardness and solidity about it. Any later cast has less or more, according to the skill with which it is done, a rough and—so it can

only be expressed—*puddingy* surface. The early medalists had an extraordinarily elaborate and painful way of making their moulds, which no later caster is likely to imitate. Having taken a model in wax, they painted this over with layer after layer of cement made of sand and water until this dried and hardened upon the wax, and the foundation of a mould was made. When the mould was finished and completely hardened, the wax was melted out. The first medal cast was generally in a precious metal, gold or silver; then followed a number of bronze or lead medals, after which the mould was destroyed. So all later imitations were cast from second moulds taken from the medals. In the case of the struck medals, a proof was very often first struck off in lead, after which followed the series in gold, silver, and bronze. The dies of these—which were of steel—were kept, and from some of them medals have been struck down to our own days. Such cases are, however, exceptional. Most of the copies of the struck medals are merely casts.

C. F. KEARY.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, bd. vi., heft iv., contains the following articles:—

1. A. v. Sallet. "The Successors of Alexander the Great in Bactria and India." Part II. This concludes what must henceforth be an indispensable work on Bactrian coins for all who devote themselves to this interesting series. Dr. von Sallet's paper is accompanied by seven plates.

2. Th. Mommsen. "On the Tribunician Years of Philippus Junior." In this paper Professor Mommsen proves that the numbering of the tribunician years of the younger Philip, commencing in A.D. 244, when he was made Cæsar, began again in 247, when he received the title of Augustus; thus, whether Tr. P. III. of Philip Junior refers to A.D. 246 or 249 can only be determined by the presence or absence of the title Augustus, &c.

The *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, bd. xi., 1st semester, contains the following articles:—

1. Dr. O. Blau. "On the Persian (Achæmenide) Generals and their coins."

2. A. Klugmann. "On the Smaller Roman Silver Money (Quinarii, Sestertii, and Victoriati) of the years B.C. 104—84 (A.U.C. 650—670)."

3. M. Bahrfeldt. "On a Find of Roman Consular Denarii at Florence."

4. J. von Kolb. "On the Græcised Inscriptions on some Antoniniani of Hostilian."

5. F. Trau. "On a Hitherto Unpublished Silver Coin (Siliqua) of Hannibalianus."

6. Dr. A. Missong. "On a S'ering of the Emperor Frederick II."

7. H. Riggauer. "On Frankish Numismatics."

8. C. Schalk. "On the Coin Standard of the Vienna Pennies before the Reform of Albert IV., A.D. 1399."

9. J. von Kolb. "On a Gold Gulden of the Emperor Frederick IV. (III.) of Wiener-Neustadt."

10. C. von Wachter. "An Attempt at a Systematic Description of the Venetian Coins, according to their Types."

11. Dr. A. Missong. "On a Medal of the Town of Palermo."

12. J. von Kolb. "On the Tirolese Kreuzers of 1809."

Les Médaillons de l'Empire Romain depuis le règne d'Auguste jusqu'à Priscus Attale. Par W. Froehner. Paris, 1878 (J. Rothschild).

In this handsome quarto volume M. Froehner appeals to the educated public at large, and not merely to the specialist. His aim has been to interest and instruct the general reader, and to popularise the science of numismatics. No class of ancient monuments is better adapted to this mode of treatment than the rich series of Roman Imperial medallions, with their almost infinite varieties of type and allusions—mythological, historical, and archæological. M. Froehner has, therefore, done well to gather into a single volume as many of these beautiful works of art as he has been able to get together. His work contains nearly all the known medallions; and there are as many as 1,310 woodcuts interspersed with the text. These are generally as good as, and often better than, similar illustrations with which we are acquainted. If they had all been taken from originals, or casts of originals, and not, as it would seem in some cases, from imperfect engravings, we should have no fault whatever to find with them. On the whole, we know of no work which is better fitted than the one now before us to be a handbook for the amateur or a companion to the reader of the history of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

B. V. H.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTE ON A FIND OF SICILIAN COPPER COINS STRUCK ABOUT THE YEAR B.C. 344.—A small find of 52 Sicilian copper coins now in the possession of MM. Rollin and Feuadent consists of the following varieties:—

1. SYRACUSE.

Obv.—ΣΥΡΑ. Head of Pallas.

Rev.—Star-fish between dolphins.

(Head, "Coin. of Syra.," pl. vii. 1.) 3 spec.

2. ADRANUM (?).

Obv.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ. Head of Apollo, left, laureate.

Rev.—Lyre.

(Head, l. c. p. 35, No. 1; Brit. Mus. Cat.,
"Sicily," p. 3, No. 1.) 15 specimens.

The inscription is only legible in full upon two specimens, on one of which it is retrograde, but vestiges of it are to be read on nearly all. Eight of these coins are restruck upon coins of

Syracuse of the type above described. Those which are not thus re-struck are struck upon *flans* prepared in a ruder manner, the edges not being rounded off, but sloping like the face of a cliff.¹ Four of these coins (not re-struck on Syracusans) have the letter **Σ** to the right of the lyre on the reverse. It is possible that this is the last letter of the word **ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ**, as there appear to be traces of other letters. On three specimens the head of Apollo is larger and of finer style, his hair hanging down over his neck.

3. UNCERTAIN TOWN.

Obv.—Head of Zeus, left, laureate.

Rev.—Eagle to right.

(Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., "Italy, Locri," p. 366, No. 23.) 5 specimens.

Obv.—Similar.

Rev.—Eagle to left.

(B. M. Cat., l. c., No. 23.) 5 specimens.

Obv.—Head of Zeus, right, laureate.

Rev.—Eagle to right.

(B. M. Cat., l. c., No. 20.) 6 specimens.

Obv.—Similar.

Rev.—Eagle to left.

(B. M. Cat., l. c., No. 21.) 15 specimens.

These coins are attributed to Locri in the Museum Catalogue of the Greek coins of Italy, but it may be doubted whether they should not rather be given to Sicily. They are of the same rough fabric as the larger coins with the head of Apollo above described.

4. UNCERTAIN CITY OF SICILY. ALÆSA (?).

Obv.—**KAINON**. Horse prancing; above, star.

Rev.—Griffin; beneath, cicada.

(B. M. Cat., "Sicily," p. 29, No. 8; Head, "Coin. of Syra.," p. 38, note 48.) 3 specimens.

The chief interest of this find, or portion of a find, consists in the fact that it presents us with the contemporary copper coinage of four Sicilian cities, issued, in all probability, immediately after the expedition of Timoleon, in the circumstances

¹ This fabric is precisely that of the earlier coins of Lipara (B. M. Cat., "Gr. C., Sicily," p. 256, sqq., Classes I. and II.).

which I have already explained in my "History of the Coinage of Syracuse," Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xiv. p. 34, sqq.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

FIND OF COINS.—In June last year a small quantity of Roman coins were found in an earthen pot at Bulwick, in Northamptonshire. About a hundred of them were given up to the police, acting on behalf of the Treasury, and a description of those, the bulk of the find, it is to be hoped will come from another quarter. A few, by permission, found their way to the hands of the rector, Mr. Holdich, and three of these he has very kindly sent to me. Bulwick has beforetimes produced for us a few coins. I possess a very good second brass Domitian, which was found there in 1867; as well as the silver penny of the first Ethelstan, described in the Num. Chron., vol. iv., N.S. The three coins recently found are all denarii of the first century, and the account of the others which I have received leads me to suppose the whole find was of that period. They are not in good condition, but they are legible.

1. Vitellius.

Rev.—Concord seated. DIA P R.

2. Vespasian.


Rev.—Winged caduceus. PON MAX TR P COS V.


3. Trajan.

Rev.—Mars (?) marching. P M TR P COS IIII P P.

ASSHETON POWNALL.

PENNY OF STEPHEN COINED AT CASTLE RISING.—Coins of the so-called Castle Rising mint are very few in number, and some very doubtful. It therefore gives me pleasure to be able to add one more to the scanty list. No penny of Stephen coined at "Risings" seems to have been known to Mr. Kenyon when he published his new edition of Hawkins (*vide* p. 179, where this mint is given only on the authority of Ruding), and there is not any specimen of such a coin in the British Museum. However, I now have the kind permission of E. A. Tillett, Esq., of Norwich, to publish a well-preserved penny of Stephen now in his collection, which was found a few years ago in that city.

Obv.— STIEFNE. Bust nearly full-faced, crowned, with sceptre.

Rev.— hIVN: [ON:] RISINGE: A double cross within a tressure and inner circle; like Hawkins, fig. 268.

It weighs 19 grs. and is of good silver.

The fact of its being found in Norfolk seems to corroborate to some extent the idea that "RISINGE" really stands for Castle Rising, which is situate in that county.



H. W. HENFREY.

PENNY OF CANUTE THE GREAT: A RECTIFICATION.—Mr. R. L. Kenyon, in his new edition of Hawkins, 1876, p. 155, describes as type 9 the very curious and probably unique penny of Canute which was first published in Ruding's pl. xxiii. No. 26. He states that it was formerly in the cabinet of the Rev. W. (should be T. F.) Dymock, but quotes in a footnote the following remarks from the Num. Chron., O.S., vol. iii. p. 121:—

"Mr. Thomsen says this does not belong to Canute the Great, but to Canute the Saint. By examining, not the engraving, but the coin, you will find the legend to be CNVT REX DANOR, and on the reverse OTHBIORN I LVNDI. The type was borrowed from one of the coins of Edward the Confessor. Lund, in Schonen, was a Danish place of mintage."

I do not know how Mr. Thomsen came to read the coin in this way; for I have recently had in my hands the identical piece engraved in Ruding and described by Hawkins, and I find that it most clearly and most exactly agrees with Ruding's Plate. Mr. William Brice, of Clifton (who very kindly lent it to me for examination), now possesses this curious piece, and knows the complete history of it. It was sold at the Rev. T. F. Dymock's sale to Cureton for Captain Murchison, and at his sale it was bought by Mr. Webster, from whom Mr. Brice obtained it.

I have very carefully examined this coin, and also shown it to Mr. Head and Mr. Keary in the Medal Room, British Museum, and they agree that the piece has every appearance of genuineness, and reads like an English coin of the Norwich mint, and not at all as Mr. Thomsen describes it. The correct description (which is exactly as Ruding engraves it) is as follows:—

Obv.—A small cross patée in the centre, with four crescents around it, their horns touching the inner circle. Legend,  · CNVT · REX .

Rev.—A cross patée, within inner circle. Legend, · ODBI ON NORPI.

In very perfect preservation. Diameter, six-tenths of an inch; weight, 11½ grs.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

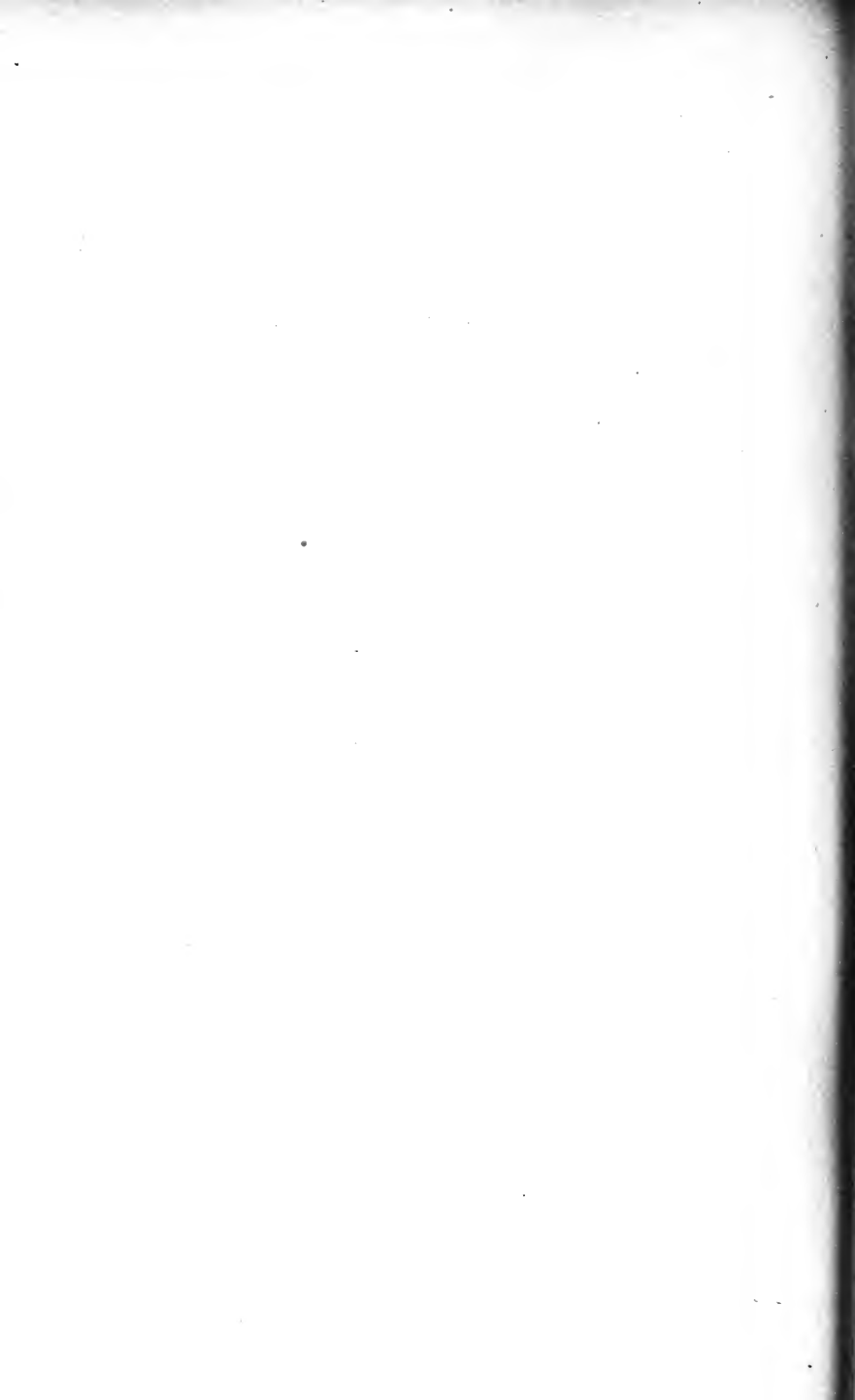
BROMLEY, KENT, *Sept.* 1879.



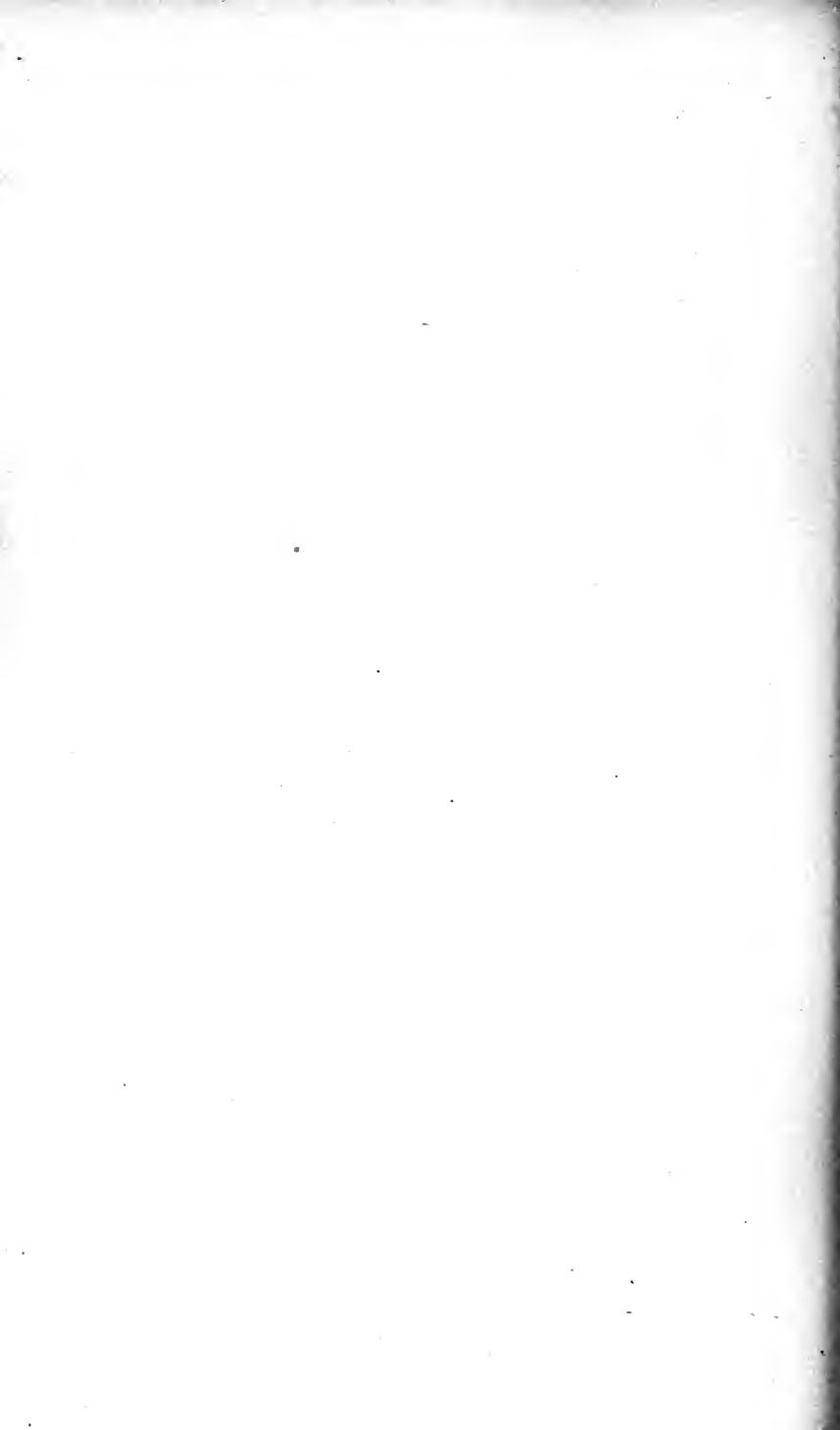
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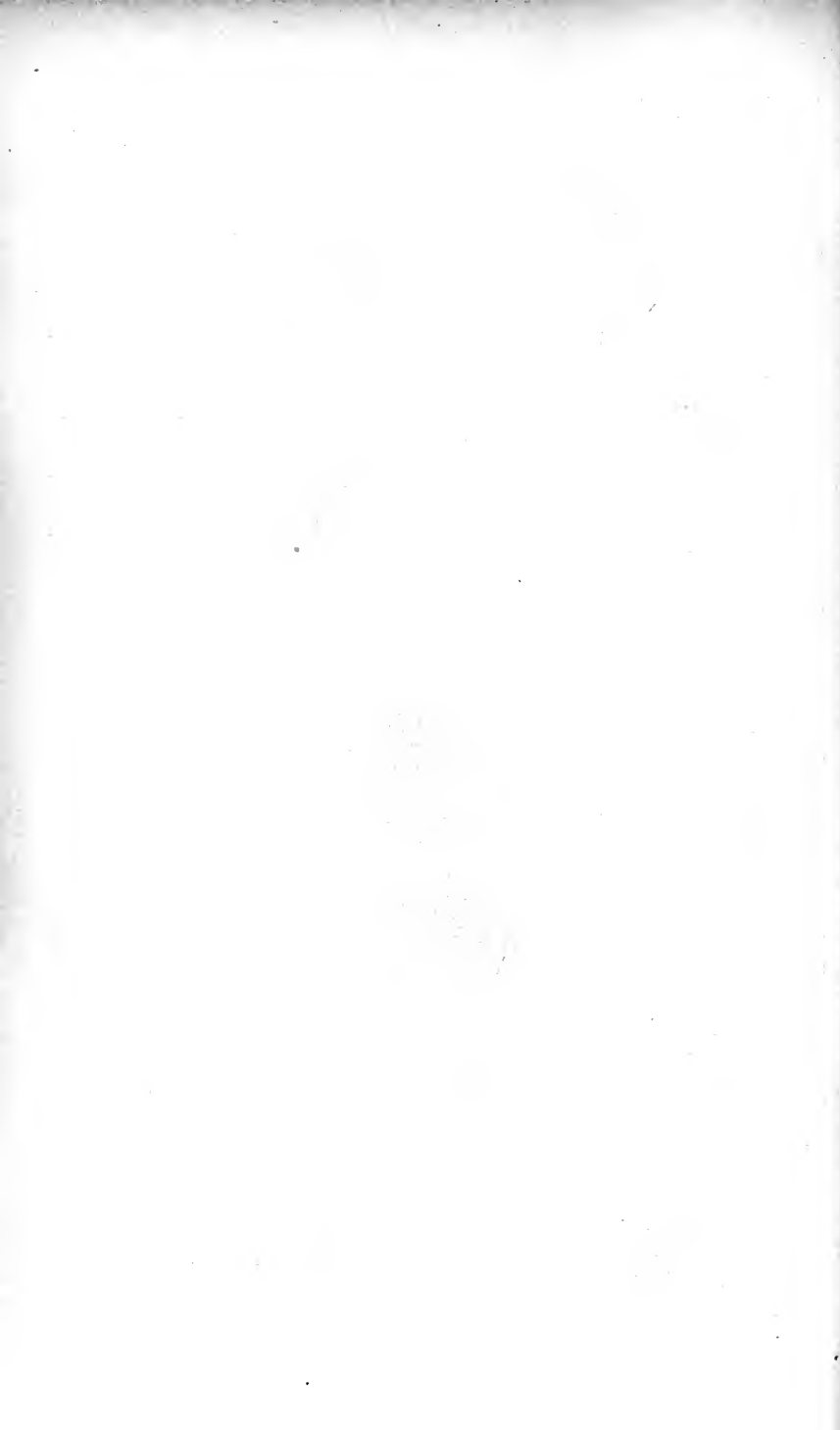
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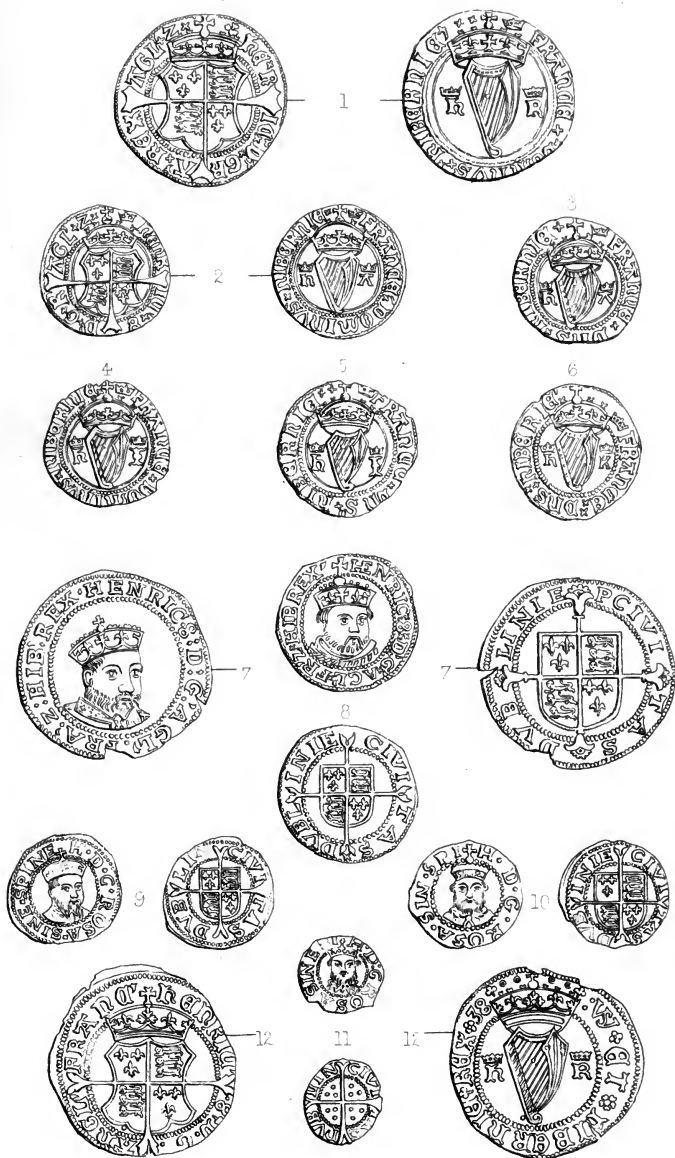


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XVII.

THE COINS OF ELIS.

THE Editors of the Numismatic Chronicle have allowed me to commence in the present number a series of papers which will occasionally appear, and each of which will deal with the numismatics of some Greek province or island, or some important city. Mr. Poole and Mr. Head have promised sometimes to contribute a paper.

These papers are intended less for the highly skilled in Greek numismatics than for students of history and archæology generally. At present these are at a great disadvantage. Students of Greek history and Greek art are generally ready to believe that they might obtain real aid from the comparison of coins if they could at their leisure examine and peruse them. But by merely passing in review the trays of a coin-cabinet they do not seem to gain much. Eckhel is, although learned, both out of date and incomplete; Mionnet's descriptions of small value, and his arrangement worthless. Nor can the scattered notices contained in more recent works be brought together without a great expenditure of time and trouble.

In the present set of papers two ideas are predominant. The first is to treat numismatics in strict subordination to history. The history of every community

treated of will be divided into periods, and to each period will be assigned its proper coins. This has already been done by Mr. Head in the case of Syracuse; and it is our purpose to treat other cities upon the same plan, if at less length. The fact is that—thanks especially to the English numismatists, as well as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer and M. Six of Amsterdam—it has during the last few years become possible to determine with far greater precision the dates of coins. We can usually arrange all the series of money issued by a Greek city in chronological sequence without much risk of very serious error, except in details. Thus, for the first time, the history of a city and its coins can be placed, so to speak, in parallel columns, each of which can be called upon to support the other; or, in some cases, the testimony of coins may refute that of the ancient historians; and thus order and system will be brought into the confused chaos of coins cited by Mionnet, and many side-lights will be opened on the connections of cities and provinces.

The second idea is to present to the reader, by means of photographic plates, as exact fac-similes of the coins as possible, in order that the eye may follow the small changes in type and fabric, which to the numismatist are so important. These the most skilled modern artist will fail to seize, and usually, while producing something agreeable in itself, will partly destroy the value and meaning of the coin as a historical witness. Our great difficulty will be in the necessarily narrow limit to the number of plates; but of those limits we will try to make the most.

Our description of coins will not, of course, be limited to the rich cabinets of the British Museum; but when

we know of other important pieces cited elsewhere, they too will be mentioned. At the same time completeness from the numismatist's point of view is less an object than to form a rational scheme or pedigree of the successive coinages of a city, into which scheme coins published in the past or to be discovered in future will naturally fit. It has also been thought well not to exclude the Imperial coinage. In the series issued by Roman emperors at the various Greek cities we often find types of great interest to the artist and historian, and sometimes inscriptions of considerable importance. In a word, the papers will be like chapters of Eckhel, but brought to the level of modern knowledge, and illustrated by plates.

Of course we lay no claim to infallibility. In the classing of individual coins there are many causes, such as bad preservation of specimens or false analogies, which may lead us astray. Whole classes we may sometimes place under the wrong period. All we hope is to secure, on the whole, an advance on what has gone before in the case of each city which we discuss; and to afford a safe platform from which future writers may take their start in attempting to improve on our work in its turn.

ELIS.

The first district which I propose to discuss is the interesting one of Elis; of which the coins are in beauty and variety not inferior to any in Greece.

Combining the statements of historians with the results of numismatic study, I would propose to divide the

history of Elis in ancient times into the following fifteen periods:—

I. Before about B.C. 471.	Aristocracy; Spartan alliance.
II. B.C. 471—421.	Democracy; Spartan alliance.
III. B.C. 421—about 400.	Argive alliance.
IV. B.C. about 400—365.	Spartan and Theban alliances.
V. B.C. 365—362.	War with Arcadians.
„	Coins of Pisa.
VI. B.C. 362—343.	Spartan alliance.
VII. B.C. 343—323.	Macedonian alliance.
VIII. B.C. 323—312.	Dependence on Macedon.
IX. B.C. 312.	Telesphorus.
X. B.C. 312—271.	Precarious autonomy.
XI. B.C. about 271.	Aristotimus.
XII. B.C. 271—191.	Tyrants; Aetolian alliance.
XIII. B.C. 191—146.	Achaean alliance.
XIV. B.C. 146—43.	Under the Romans.
XV. B.C. 43—217 A.D.	Imperial coinage.

PERIOD I.—BEFORE B.C. 471.

According to Greek belief the earliest inhabitants of Elis were of a race kindred to the Aetolian. The chief city of the district was Pisa, which lay close to the sanctuary of the Olympic Zeus. Olympia and Pisa had from the earliest times been connected together in myth and history. Both were concerned with the story which attributed the foundation of the Olympic festival to Heracles; and when Pelops came to the country which was to bear his name, he found Oenomaüs, King of Pisa, as supreme ruler in the district. In the chariot-race of Pelops and Oenomaüs we may see the foreshadowing of future Olympian contests.

To Pisa, then, at an early period, belonged the cult of the Olympian Zeus, and the right of presiding at the games which the Greeks traced back far beyond the first his-

torical Olympiad into the mist of the past. It was variously said that the gods had contended at the first celebration of the festival ; or that Heracles had won in every competition.

When the Dorians invaded Peloponnese they assigned the district of Elis to Oxylus and his Aetolians. He was said to be of kindred race with the people ; nevertheless, there seems to have been constant feud between Pisa, which appears to have continued as the ancient capital of the district, and the new city, or rather fortress, of Elis, fortified by Oxylus at a considerable distance to the north of Olympia, at the spot where the Peneius breaks forth from the Arcadian hills.

When the invaders had attained a sure footing in Elis, they soon managed to secure to themselves the presidency of the Olympic games ; and under their presidency the games gained wider and wider fame, until they were one of the chief bonds which held Hellas together, and until the great deity of Olympia was recognised as the father of the gods and of Hellenic men.

Thrice did the people of Pisa, profiting by their nearness to Olympia, and the necessities of the Eleans, succeed in wresting from them for a short time the coveted presidency : once when they were supported by the powerful Pheidon of Argos ; and once when the Spartans, the close allies of the Eleans, were occupied with the second Messenian war. Of the third occasion I shall have to speak presently. But the Eleans gained the upper hand more and more, and about the 52nd Olympiad, Pisa was finally worsted, and disappears from history for the time.

From this period (B.C. 570) dates the prosperity of the people of Elis. Their stronghold was on the banks of the Peneius, but the people were spread by villages and farms

over the fertile plain, and led a country life, rich in flocks, herds, and corn-fields. The government was an aristocracy, as usually happened in the plains of Greece; the country was quiet and wealthy, and regarded by all Greece as sacred to the deity of Olympus, so that it escaped for ages all hostile ravages.

The next landmark offered us is afforded in or about the year B.C. 471, when the constitution of the country was modified in a democratic direction, and the inhabitants of several villages drawn together to people a new city on the slopes below the old Acropolis on the Peneius, which, however, was still maintained as a fortress. Curtius reckons the settling of the new Elis as one of the most important of Greek establishments, and a landmark in Peloponnesian history.

Before the building of new Elis the Eleans had begun to strike coins. Of these there is no class with the mere punch-mark on the reverse; indeed, there is no class which we can with confidence assign to the period before the Persian wars. Elis was behind Argos and Sicyon in the adoption of a coinage. But there are a few pieces in a thoroughly archaic style, which we may give to the period B.C. 500—471.

As the land of Elis was sacred to Zeus, and derived its honour from its close connection with the Olympic festival, so every piece of money the Eleans issued in early times bore the effigy or the symbols of their Zeus, and contained allusions to the games.

Professor Curtius remarks, with complete justice, that Zeus was worshipped at Olympia under a twofold aspect: first, as god of sky and weather, under which aspect he received the epithets *ὑέτιος* and *καταβάτης*; secondly, as the lord and giver of victory.

The former is the more natural and usual aspect of Zeus among the Greeks. Both in Messénia and Arcadia Zeus was worshipped on lofty hills, the spots of earth which are most tempest-beaten, and most often shrouded in cloud. On Mount Ithome, Mount Lyceius, Mount Olympus, the cloud-compelling deity sat enshrouded in mist, uttering a voice of thunder, and sending out lightnings to lighten the world and rain to refresh it. On a late coin of Ephesus we have a representation of Zeus thus seated on Mount Prion pouring rain on the city of the Ephesians. Such a character also attaches to the most primitive Zeus of Greece, the god of Dodona, who dwelt amid the stormy hills of Epirus, and whose priests, the Selli, slept on the ground and washed not their feet. The well-known lines of Homer, which describe the nod of Zeus,—

ἦ, καὶ κνανέησιν ἐπ' ὄφρυσιν νέεσσε Κρονίων
 ἀμβρόσiai δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
 κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον—

lines which Phidias is said to have tried to embody in the great statue which he designed for Olympia, were really a perfect expression of the feeling of the people of Elis with regard to the god. But every reader of these lines must feel that they are but a poetical way of expressing a thunderstorm, when the hair of the god seems to float out, and the earth to shake at his presence.

The most appropriate symbol of the god of weather is the thunderbolt; and on the coins of Elis this is, perhaps, the most constant type. From the point of view of art, it is perhaps to be regretted that the able artists of Elis had to spend their strength on a subject which could never be satisfactorily treated. In their treatment of the heads of Zeus and Hera, of the eagle and other types, we

see a continuous progress, and a mirror is held up to contemporary art. We shall see as we proceed in how many ways the coins of a period help us to determine the character of its plastic art. But in treating the thunderbolt art cannot progress. It can represent its wings better and better, but the thing itself defies study. Hence we find at later periods (Period IV., 7, 11 ; Period V., 6, 8, for instance) occasional returns to a more primitive type. When the art of Elis became quite mature, in the middle of the fourth century, it finally abandoned the unfruitful attempt, and henceforth the thunderbolt disappears for a time from the coinage.

The eagle, whose nest is built among the lofty mountain crags, is also a natural type of Zeus the Cloud-gatherer ; and when he appears on the coins of Elis, flying, may be so regarded ; but when he is struggling with a serpent, or tearing a hare, he symbolises Zeus rather in the second aspect, of which I must next speak.

Secondly, then, Zeus was regarded in Elis as the giver of victory. This is a far less materialistic view of the deity, and really belongs to the Hellenes, while the god of weather may well be pre-Hellenic. Already, in the *Iliad*, Zeus is the great dispenser of Victory ; and when he promises Thetis that for a time she shall incline towards the Trojans, the matter is settled, and all Olympus cannot alter it. And in far earlier times than those of the *Iliad*, *Vaiśvámitra* cries, appealing to Indra, the Indian Zeus, "Indra, protected by thee, wielder of the club, may we with thee lift the thunderbolt, and with thee vanquish our foes in battle."¹ This passage will show how ancient and how easy is the metamorphosis

¹ Rig Veda, translated by Ludwig, sec. 447.

of a god of thunder into a giver of victory. Traces of such metamorphosis clearly appear also in the lines of Hesiod,—

μέγα δ' ἔκτυπε μῆτίετα Ζεὺς,
σῆμα τιθεὶς πολέμοιο ἑὼ μεγαθαρσέϊ παιδί.²

Thus the thunderbolt is very appropriate to the god of victory. Still more appropriate is the type of the eagle carrying or tearing the prey, for it is well known that among the Greeks the appearance of an eagle carrying an animal in a battle to either host was to it a sure sign of victory; but if the prey escaped, of defeat impending. In the twelfth book of the Iliad, when Hector and Polydamas are about to storm the Greek camp, an eagle appears bearing a serpent in his claws. But the serpent turns on his captor : ³—

κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στῆθος παρὰ δειρήν
ιδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὃ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε χαμᾶζε
ἀλγήσας ὀδύνησι.

The wounded eagle drops the serpent, which falls among the Trojans. Polydamas at once assumes that the omen comes direct from Zeus, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο, and that its meaning is, that though the Trojans may press their foes hard, it shall not be given to them to be completely victorious. In the eighth book, on the other hand, when the Greeks are very hard pressed, Agamemnon prays to Zeus that they may not be utterly destroyed, and the god hears his prayer, and sends, as a sign of his favour, an eagle bearing a fawn,—

αὐτίκα δ' αἰετὸν ἦκε, τελειότατον πετεηνῶν,
νεβρὸν ἔχοντ' ὀνύχεσσι—

² Shield of Heracles, l. 383 ; cf. Odys. xxi. 413.

³ Il., xii. 204.

whereat the Achaeans are so encouraged that they return to the charge and the battle is renewed. In this case the prey of the eagle is a fawn; on the coins of Elis it is usually either a hare or a serpent. The latter is often violently resisting his captor; indeed sometimes he appears to be about to strangle the eagle. Both hare and serpent live in nests or holes in the ground, and it is perhaps scarcely fanciful to see, in their destruction by the eagle, the victory of light, represented by the bird of the sun, over darkness and night. But sometimes in the place of these chthonic creatures we find the ram; and sometimes the eagle stands on the head of a stag. What the stag may mean I know not, but the ram may not impossibly stand for cloud and mist, as do both ram and sheep in some Greek mythological tales. On another coin (Period IV. 3) we find a lizard in juxtaposition to the head of an eagle. The presence of this creature has been ingeniously explained by M. Duchalais.⁴ He suggests that the lizard is the equivalent of the serpent, and that both are really representations of Typhon and the serpent-footed giants. A bandit or giant named Saurus is said in the local myth to have infested the crags bordering on the sacred road to Olympia from Heraea and Arcadia, and to have been there destroyed by Heracles, founder of the festival. Certainly if the Greeks intended an allusion to the destruction of Saurus, it is quite in keeping with their mode of representation to place a lizard (*σαῦρος*) on their coin as vanquished by the eagle.

Sometimes we find the eagle standing on an Ionic column, which seems to stand for the meta in the Olym-

⁴ *Revue Numismatique* for 1852.

pian hippodrome. In this case the agonistic meaning of the type is clear. It will be remembered that the rising of the eagle from the altar in the hippodrome was the sign for the chariots to start.

But, of course, as soon as the Greeks began to personify victory, Nike herself at once became the most appropriate of all types of Zeus. On the coins of Elis she appears in many attitudes; at first running to crown a victor, in later times standing or seated in more contemplative mood. Throughout the coinage Nike seems to be the Victory of the games rather than Victory in war, although as the Greeks practised war before they practised games, she was no doubt at first associated with the more serious contest. But the close connection of the Elean coins with the Olympic games is enough to show that our Nike is always agonistic, with one possible exception, of which I must speak under Period IV.

The olive-wreath which is so usual on the coins, which Zeus wears on his head and Nike carries in her hand, is of course the "crown of wild olive" of world-wide fame, the only meed of the victor in the games. It was first bestowed in the sixth historic Olympiad, in consequence of an oracle. In the Altis, near the altar of Aphrodite and the Horae, stood the sacred tree *ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος*. From it a boy, both of whose parents were alive, and who thus could have never known deep grief, cut with a golden knife as many sprays as there were contests to be held, and of each spray a wreath was made. The wreaths were laid in a brazen tripod, and one of the Hellanodicae put them on the heads of the victors. As an epitome or symbol of the wreath of olive, an olive-leaf sometimes appears in the field on coins; and is even in some cases entwined in the thunderbolt.

Of other coin-types, the head of Hera, that of the nymph Olympia, and so forth, I will speak in order as they appear.

As the Olympic festival was not merely religious and athletic, but attended by a great concourse from all the ends of Hellas, and was, in fact, a fair or market for the exchange of commodities, it is more than probable that the coins of Elis were issued in greater quantities at that period for the convenience of commerce, and in order that visitors might take away with them some memorial of the feast. More care was bestowed on them than elsewhere, and the types constantly change, facts which indicate that they were used rather in the place of striking than abroad. Cities whose coin had extensive circulation, like Athens and Corinth, retained invariable types. But we have no special reason to think that the issue of coins at Elis was at all confined to the occasions of the festival. A circumstance not a little remarkable is that in the course of the wonderfully complete excavations recently carried on by the German Government at Olympia very few fine or large coins of Elis have been found. Dr. Weil has kindly informed me that of the coins found most have been Byzantine, but a certain number of small silver and copper of Elis have been among them. Probably the chief reason of this is that there was no city at Olympia, only an occasional encampment. In cities the people used to bury coins in hoards; at the festival they were only likely occasionally to let one fall.

The weights of the coins of Elis give us no clue to their arrangement; and indeed are so uniform throughout that I have deemed it unnecessary for the present pur-

pose to record them. The full weight of the didrachm is 190 grains (grammes 12·3); the drachm weighs 90 grains (gr. 5·8); the hemidrachm 45 grains (gr. 2·9); the obol 15 grains (gr. 1). This system of weights endures almost without variation from the earliest times until after the middle of the third century B.C. At that time the didrachm sinks a little—to about 185 grains (gr. 12); the drachm still more to about 70 (gr. 4·5), and the hemidrachm to 36 (gr. 2·3). The hemidrachms struck at a still later period, when Elis was a member of the Achaean league, seem to sink from 38 to 30 grains (gr. 2·5 to 1·9). The Eleans, therefore, seem uniformly to have adhered to the standard called the Aeginetan. The origin of this standard is quite obscure, the theory of Brandis on the subject being very fanciful; but it is enough for our present purpose that it was in use throughout Peloponnesus from very early times.

The inscription on the coins of Elis is from the earliest period **FA** or **FAAEION**; **Ω** first makes its appearance about B.C. 365; **HAEIΩN** does not occur until Imperial times.

The use of the digamma caused the older numismatists, and even Eckhel, to give the coins of Elis to Faleria in Italy. The credit for pointing out the error belongs to the munificent benefactor of the British Museum, Richard Payne Knight. Strange to say, Eckhel tries at length to prove him wrong.

It is impossible to discriminate between the coins of Period I. and Period II., as there is no change in standard or type, and style of course changes gradually. An approximate division for purposes of convenience will be all that can be attempted.

1. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to left or right, struggling with serpent which twines round his body.

Rev.—**FA**, **FA**, or **FA** (retrog.). Thunderbolt with wings at one end and volutes at the other; in round incuse.

Didrachm, hemidrachm, obol.

2. *Obv.*—**FAΛEION**, **FAΛEI**, or (usually) no inscription. Eagle flying to left or right, struggling with serpent or tearing hare; sometimes holding nothing.

Rev.—**FA**, **FA** (retrog.), or **AF** (retrog.) Nike running to right or left, holding in one hand a wreath, the other sometimes raises her dress; in round incuse.

Didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm.

Countermarks: bearded male head, wheel, &c.

During this period the wings of both eagle and Nike are represented as stretched one on each side of the body; in the drapery of Nike stiff parallel lines prevail, dots and straight lines in the wings; Nike is clad in a long chiton with sleeves, but wears no outer garment.

PERIOD II.—B.C. 471—421.

During this period the people of Elis stood firmly by the Lacedaemonian alliance which had hitherto brought them so much advantage. To the Eleans, who were peaceable, the countenance of the strongest military power in Greece was invaluable; indeed, without it they could not have kept down the subject cities, as the sequel will show. The Spartans, on the other hand, gained by the alliance the advantage of appearing as the soldiers of Zeus; and a people like the Eleans, who dwelt scattered in farms and villages, were quite to their taste.

At this time, that is to say, between the Persian and

Peloponnesian Wars, the Eleans had a serious dispute with the Lepreates of Triphylia. This people, according to Thucydides,⁵ called in the assistance of the people of Elis in a war which they were waging with some Arcadians, offering them, in return for their assistance, the half of their own lands. The Eleans made them pay, either in addition to forfeiting the stipulated land or in the place of it, yearly, a talent to the Olympian Zeus. Dr. Ernst Curtius⁶ supposes, and with much reason, that for or by the Lepreates, who were thus made tributary to the god, the coin was issued (*infra*, No. 1), which bears the inscription 'Ολυμπικόν only, νόμισμα being understood, and not, so far as appears, the name of the Eleans at all. He considers the new inscription as one intended to soothe the pride of the Lepreates, and to save them from feeling like mere tributaries. However this might be, the Lepreates soon grew tired of their position, and manifest henceforth deep dislike towards their patron-state.

In the Zeus of Nos. 2 and 3 *infra*, we see a gradual approach to the type perpetuated by the chisel of Phidias. On No. 2 we have the god seated on a throne; but the fact that the eagle is flying and has left his hand is in itself sufficient to show that we have here no exact copy of the statue of Zeus at Olympia before Phidias' time: of course, in sculpture this arrangement would be impossible. On No. 3 we have an entirely original figure of the god of great merit, and bearing every mark of a master's hand. In this case he is seated on a mountain, conventionally represented, according to Greek custom, as a rock. The other coins of the period bear the symbols of Zeus—an eagle, or a thunderbolt.

⁵ V. 31.

⁶ Zeitsch. f. Numism., ii. 235.

1. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to left, struggling with serpent.

Rev.—**ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΝ** (retrogr.). Zeus naked striding to right, holds in right hand thunderbolt, in left eagle; in square incuse.

Didrachm, Photiades Pacha.

This reverse type identical with that of the coins of Messenia of the time of Epaminondas, but the style earlier.

2. *Obv.*—Zeus seated to left on throne, holds in right hand a thunderbolt, in left a sceptre; before him an eagle flying.

Rev.—**ΦΑΛΕΙΟΝ** (boustroph.). Eagle flying to left; in square incuse. Didrachm, B.M.

This obverse type identical with that of the early coins of Arcadia.

3. *Obv.*—Zeus seated to left on rock, clad in himation, which is wrapped round his left arm; in his right hand an eagle; sceptre rests against rock.

Rev.—**ΦΑΛΕ** (retrogr.). Eagle flying to left struggling with serpent; in square incuse.

Didrachm, B.M.

The obverse type bears a close resemblance to the figure of Zeus in the frieze of the Parthenon.

4. *Obv.*—**ΦΑΛΕΙΟΝ** (boustroph.). Eagle flying to left.

Rev.—**ΦΑ**. Nike facing, holding untied wreath in both hands. Didrachm.

5. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right struggling with serpent, or flying to left holding hare.

Rev.—**ΦΑΛΕ** (so or retrogr.). Nike running to left, clad in chiton and himation, holding wreath in outstretched right hand; in incuse square.

Didrachm.

6. *Obv.*—Eagle standing to left, flapping his wings over dead hare.

Rev.—**ΦΑΛΕ**. Nike facing, holding in one hand untied wreath, in the other long palm; in incuse square. Didrachm, B.M.

7. *or Rev.*—**FAΛEION**. Nike seated to right on square base, holding wreath in right hand, her left raised to her head ; in incuse square.

Didrachm, Stift S. Florian, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.

8. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, holding hare in his talons.

Rev.—**F]A**. Nike seated to left on square base ; she holds in her right hand a wreath (?) ; her left rests on the base. Didrachm, B.M.

9. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, tearing hare.

Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt ; sometimes olive-leaf in field ; in incuse square.
Didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm, obol.

10. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right or left, tearing hare.

Rev.—**FA** or **FA** (retrogr.). Thunderbolt ; in round incuse.
Didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm.

11. *Obv.*—Eagle standing to right with wings spread, looking back.

Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt ; in round incuse.
Hemidrachm, obol.

12. *Obv.*—Head of eagle to left.

Rev.—**F** in incuse square.
Hemidrachm, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.

Countermarks, bearded head to right, of transitional style, rosette or wheel.

The coins of this period differ a great deal in style one from another ; the eagle of No. 10 is of freer style ; the Zeus of No. 3, and the Nike of Nos. 4, 5, 7 are decidedly in the style of transition. These figures are beautifully executed, great care being especially bestowed on the drapery ; but the attitudes have something of archaic stiffness, the figures are thick, and the heads large.

PERIOD III.—B.C. 421—400.

In 421 B.C., after the peace of Nicias, the Eleans deserted for the first time the Spartan alliance, the foundation of which was attributed to Lycurgus and Iphitus. They now joined the league of Argos and Mantinea, and, with the bitterness of renegades, soon found a pretext for fining the Spartans heavily for an alleged violation of the sacred truce. The Spartans refused to pay the fine, and were in B.C. 420 expelled from the great festival. A Spartan named Lichas, who had entered a chariot for the race, was obliged to make it over to the Boeotians; and on his imprudently advancing to congratulate the charioteer on his victory, was rudely beaten by the *παβέδονχοι*. In 418 the Eleans fought on the Argive side at the battle of Mantinea. It was not at the moment convenient for the Lacedaemonians to punish their aggressors; but we shall see that they did so before long.

The great deity of the Argives was from the remotest times Hera. Already in Homer Hera declares her partiality for the city: and at the great Heraeum, which stood outside the city, Polycleetus just at this period set up a statue of Hera, which was the rival of Phidias' Zeus at Olympia. The Eleans also had their temple of Hera, and had worshipped her from ancient times. Curtius observes that this cult of Hera belonged specially to the people of Elis, but the cult of Zeus to all Greece. The Heraeum stood in the Altis at Olympia. Peloponnesian girls ran races in honour of the goddess, and every Olympiad two women were chosen from each tribe of the people of Elis to weave her a peplos. We cannot doubt that in the worship of Hera the Argives and Eleans found a tie. Thus it is instructive to find that precisely at this

period both cities begin to place on their coin a head of Hera wearing a stephanos adorned with flowers, the types of the two coinages being in most respects alike, save that the Argeian is badly executed.⁷ For the new type the people of Argos abandon Apollo and the wolf; and the people of Elis, Zeus and the eagle.

There can, I think, be little doubt of my correctness in the placing of the coins of Period III. The largeness of feature and majesty of expression of the goddess seem to belong clearly to the age of Phidias and Polycletus. Coin engravers at this early period did not copy works of statuary, but they must necessarily have had them before their minds. We always find a similarity of style between statuary and coins of the same period; so, although it were absurd to suppose that the head of the great statue at Argos must in details have resembled the head of Hera on the coins of Elis and Argos, yet it is likely that they give us a better general idea of its character than more intentional imitations of a later and baser time. As a sure indication of the early period of our coins, I would call attention to the fact that the eye of Hera on them is represented as half facing the spectator, though the head is in exact profile. In the heads of Period V. the eye is still slightly turned outwards; it

⁷ Many of the Argive didrachms may belong to the period after 400, but some appear to me to have been struck before that date, especially those which have the forms **O** for **Ω** and **R** for **P**. The largeness of the features of Hera, and the simplicity of her hair, seem to denote an early period for the commencement of the Argive coin. The flowers on the stephanos of the goddess seem to belong specially to the Argive deity as *Ἡρα ἄνθεια*. In the statue of Polycletus the stephanos of Hera was adorned with the Horae and Charites, and of these flowers are a most appropriate emblem.

is not until we reach the age of Praxiteles (Period VI.) that we find the eye quite correctly in profile.

The head of Zeus (No. 1 *infra*) is clearly of the same period as the heads of Hera. We have the same large features and the same air of quiet majesty. This head belongs to the age of Phidias; and although it is not directly a copy of the head of the great statue, it may, perhaps, serve in some respects to give us a better notion of it than the formal and intentional copy of the age of Hadrian, of which we will speak below (Period XV.).

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt, within olive-wreath.

Didrachm, B.M.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Hera to right, wearing tall stephanos, adorned with conventional flowers; the letters **H P A** sometimes either above or on the stephanos.

Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt, without wings, within olive-wreath. Didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm.

3. Similar, without wreath on reverse.

Hemidrachm, obol.

PERIOD IV.—B.C. 400—365.

In the course of this period Elis abandoned the Argive alliance for one with the Spartans, and afterwards the Thebans, Thebes being then at the zenith of her short-lived power under Epaminondas. It was, according to Clinton and Grote, about the year B.C. 400 that the Spartan king, Agis, formally took in hand the punishment of the Eleans for the insults and injuries they had inflicted on the Spartans. Xenophon,⁸ who gives the most

⁸ Hellen. iii. 2, 21—30.

complete account we possess of the war, says that in the first campaign Agis penetrated some distance into the territory of Elis, but, being alarmed by an earthquake, retired. In the second campaign he occupied Olympia, and advanced to the gates of Elis; but for some reason did not choose to assault the city. A party of the people of Elis under Xenias meditated a treacherous revolt in his favour, but was expelled by the democratic or patriotic party under Thrasydaeus. On this Agis retired, leaving only a small force under a leader named Lysippus to occupy a fort in Elean territory, and, in conjunction with Xenias and his exiles, to lay the territory waste. So much were the Eleans harassed by this body of troops that they sent to Sparta, and made peace on the terms that they should surrender their fleet to the Spartans and give autonomy to their subject cities in Triphylia. The presidency of the festival they were allowed to retain. As to the results of the war and the terms of peace Diodorus⁹ confirms Xenophon, but he adds that the Spartans met with a decided repulse at Elis itself. Pausanias, in his third book,¹⁰ gives an account of the whole war exactly coinciding with Xenophon's, save that he calls the Spartan captain Lysistratus instead of Lysippus. But in the fifth book¹¹ we get quite a different story. There he says that during this very war, as is proved by the mention of the names of Thrasydaeus and Xenias, the Eleans defeated Agis in a great battle at Olympia, and drove his forces out of the sacred *temenos*. Again, in the sixth book,¹² Pausanias mentions as existing at Olympia a trophy erected by the Eleans to commemorate their victory over

⁹ xiv. 34; xiv. 17.¹⁰ iii. 8, 4.¹¹ v. 4, 8.¹² vi. 2, 8. The words are—Δαίδαλος Σικυώνιος, ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Λακωνικῇ νικῇ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἄλτει τρόπαιον ἐποίησεν Ἑλείοις.

the Spartans, and executed by Daedalus of Sicyon, whom we know to have been at this period busy at Olympia. Amidst this contradictory evidence it seems safest to suppose that the Eleans did win a real victory over Agis, of which Xenophon in his partisan spirit¹³ says nothing, for the existence of the trophy cannot be disputed. But the terms of peace must have been favourable to Sparta, for the people of Elis were no match in war for the Lacedaemonians. This discussion is quite necessary for the understanding of the coinage of the period. I believe myself justified on grounds of style in giving to this time a series of pieces in which the old eagle and thunderbolt types are revived, though with far greater mastery over style; such a mastery as we cannot suppose to have existed before the fourth century. And in some of these coins there seems to be allusion to victory won. The seated Nike (No. 1) looks like a reminiscence of a trophy such as that set up by Daedalus. The fine, spirited eagle which is fighting with a serpent (No. 7) looks like the symbol of a city which has won a hard-fought field. The coins, which are fashioned both on obverse and reverse to imitate a buckler bearing the national arms, seem to hint that the shields of Elis have lately been victorious.

And I have a further discovery to communicate, which may, indeed, only indicate a coincidence; but if so the coincidence is very remarkable. In the field of No. 7 (obverse) are the letters ΔA . The same letters appear on a leaf below the type of No. 2 (obv.). These letters must commence the name of an artist who engraved the coin,

¹³ It is well known that Xenophon minimises all Spartan defeats, and even passes by in silence the foundation of Megalopolis by Epaminondas, and the restoration of the Messenians.

for we have few or no magistrates' names on the coins of Elis until the third century ; nor do Greek magistrates place their names actually *on* the type or symbol of a coin. Coin engravers, on the contrary, do so, as is very well known ; and it is precisely at the beginning of the fourth century that the signatures of coin engravers are most frequent on coins. Can the **ΔΑ**, whose name appears here, be Daedalus himself ? I do not dare to answer this question positively in the affirmative, for I know well that there is no recorded instance of a Greek sculptor having executed coin-dies, though if we look to the Renaissance we find that great painters, sculptors, and goldsmiths, such as Albert Dürer and Vittore Pisano, engraved moulds for medals, and Francia and Cellini made the dies of coins. Also it will be objected that **ΔΑ** is not a likely contraction for *Δαίδαλος* ; **ΔΑΙ** would certainly be more usual. But, on the other hand, the group of No. 7 and the eagle's head of No. 2 are fully worthy of a great sculptor ; and we know for certain that at precisely the period to which I assign these coins Daedalus was busy at Olympia ; and for Eleans. He not only executed in the 95th Olympiad (about B.C. 400) the trophy of which I have already spoken, but also set up¹⁴ statues of Eupolemus of Elis, who won a race in the 96th Olympiad ; and of Aristodemus of Elis, who received a prize for wrestling in the 98th Olympiad. Finally, we have on coins **ΒΟ** for *Βοιωτῶν* and **ΜΑ** for *Μαυσσώλλων*.

On the whole I must consider that I have raised a question which we are at present unable to decide, but which is worthy the attention of both numismatists and archæologists. If it were Daedalus who engraved the two

¹⁴ Brunn, *Geschichte der Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 278.

signed coins, I should certainly attribute to him also the very beautiful seated figure of Nike (No. 1), and be inclined to see in it a reminiscence of the trophy which he executed and erected in the Altis. The **ΠΟ** on No. 4 may also stand for an engraver's name. It recurs under Period VII. One naturally thinks, though without reason, of the younger Polycletus.

1. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, attacking with his beak a hare which he holds in his claws.

Rev.—**FA**. Nike seated to left on base consisting of two steps; she is clad in a chiton, and a himation rests on her knees; in her right hand is a palm, her left rests on the base; beneath the latter is an olive-twig.
Didrachm.

2. *Obv.*—Eagle's head to left; beneath, leaf, on which in well-preserved specimens the letters **ΔΑ**.

Rev.—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt within olive-wreath.
Didrachm, hemidrachm, obol.

3. *Obv.*—Eagle's head to right; beneath, lizard.

Rev.—**FA**. Unwinged thunderbolt; entwined with the volutes at one end, olive-leaves.
Drachm, B.M.

4. *Obv.*—Eagle's head to right or left; below it, in some instances, **F** or **ΠΟ** (Gréau Collection).

Rev.—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt within olive-wreath.

5. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt.

6. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Unwinged thunderbolt.

Hemidrachm, obol.

7. *Obv.*—**ΔΑ**. Eagle standing erect, struggling with serpent, whom he holds with his claw and seizes with his beak.

Rev.—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt; cable border.
Didrachm, B.M.

8. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to left, struggling with serpent.
Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt with wide-spread wings within square of dots. Didrachm, B.M.
9. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, attacking hare, which it holds in its beak.
Rev.—**FAΛEON** (*sic*). Winged thunderbolt, adorned at one end with floral pattern. Didrachm, B.M.
10. *Obv.*—Eagle to left, standing on prostrate ram and tearing him.
Rev.—**FA** (*retrogr.*). Thunderbolt with eagle's wings. Didrachm, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.
11. *Obv.*—Eagle to right, standing on hare and tearing him; the whole reduced into circular form.
Rev.—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt within olive-wreath. Didrachm.
12. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt. Hemidrachm.
13. *Obv.*—Eagle standing on serpent and tearing him; the whole group as device of a circular shield. Sometimes a ram in place of the serpent.
Rev.—**FA**. Unwinged thunderbolt represented as in the concave side of the same shield; sometimes the rim and handles of the shield represented. Sometimes the thunderbolt has furled wings, and of the letters **FA** one or both are incuse. Didrachm.

N.B.—The fabric of these pieces (13) is peculiar. The blanks on which they were struck were evidently cast in small circular chambers, from one to another of which a passage was cut for the course of the metal. At the sides of the coins still remain traces of such casting in series. The incuse letters and countermarks (*bipennis*, &c.) are also noteworthy.

In this period both eagle and thunderbolt are treated with far greater freedom and variety.

Contemporary with the above are probably the following :—

14. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, bound with taenia.

Rev.—**FAA**. Three **T**'s ranged triangularly round a central point.

Tritartemorion. Weight, 7·7 grains. Berlin, from Fox Collection.

15. *or Rev.*—Three **T**'s as above : no inscription.

16. *Obv.*—Eagle's head to right.

Rev.—**T**.

Tetartemorion.

Nos. 15 and 16 are from the descriptions of M. Lampros (*Zeitschr. f. Num.*, ii., 175-6). Their attribution to Elis, although probable, is not certain. They belong to a series of coins issued in various cities of Peloponnese during the fourth century before our æra and bearing marks of value. **T** stands for tetartemorion, or the fourth part of an obol, and the three **T**'s for three tetartemoria. The attribution of No. 14, which bears an inscription, is safe; but the piece presents many peculiarities, the head of Zeus, for example, being without wreath.

PERIOD V. B.C. 365—362.

As allies of Epaminondas the Eleans hailed his appearance in Peloponnesus; and aided him in his victorious march to the gate of Sparta. But their ingratitude to their old allies at Lacedaemon was followed by a speedy Nemesis. The Arcadians, whom it had been the policy of Epaminondas to restore as a nation under the presidency of

Mantineia, no sooner felt their strength than they resolved to restore the city of Pisa, and in conjunction with the Pisatae to assume the presidency of the Olympic festival. Their quarrel with the Eleans arose from the claim of these to the lordship of the semi-Arcadian Triphylia. The approach of the 104th Olympiad brought matters to a head. The Arcadians and Pisatae advanced and occupied the Cronion, a hill close to the Altis. With great valour the troops of Elis attacked them in the midst of the festival, but were beaten off, and the remainder of the contests passed off without their reappearance. The Pisatae even dared to seize some of the temple-treasures, and convert them into coin for the hire of mercenaries. Then came the reaction. The conscience of Greece was shocked at the sacrilege. Most of the Arcadian cities, Mantinea taking the lead, restored so much of the treasure as they could lay hands on, disclaimed all share in the sacrilege, and offered to restore to Elis her presidential rights. Pisa sank back into her previous obscurity, from which she never again issued. The triumphant Eleans proclaimed their victory by refusing to reckon the festival from which they had been absent.

Dr. Ernst Curtius attributes to this period the small gold coins which bear the name of Pisa; and there can be little doubt that he is right. Style and fabric completely suit the period; and the types are such as the Pisatae would adopt in claiming the presidency of the games of Zeus (Nos. 7 and 8 *infra*); and indeed at no previous or subsequent period was Pisa likely to issue gold coin.

The contemporary coins of Elis offer us a head of Zeus (Nos. 1 and 2) of a character precisely similar to that of the Pisan coin, and a thunderbolt also of identical form (No. 6). Other types are the head of the nymph

Olympia, which appears for the first time, and an eagle standing on the meta. It is hard to see how the people of Elis could have indicated their triumph more clearly than by reproducing on their own coin the very types of the Pisatae, and adding the head of Olympia, to show that they claimed her as exclusively their own, and would endure no interference. The eagle of Elis, too, takes his stand on the meta, defying the Arcadians again to drive him out.

The attribution of coins to this period seems so easy and clear that I venture to adhere to it in spite of authorities for whom I have the greatest respect. Both Stephani and Curtius assert that the head of Zeus on these coins belongs to about the time of Phidias. To my mind the likeness it bears to the Pisan head is sufficient to make us reject this view. The head (Period III., No. 1) does belong to the age of Phidias; how vastly superior is it to this later effigy. It is true that we have not in our present coins the flowing locks of the Zeus who appears on the coins of the Arcadians; the conception is different, but not necessarily earlier. Here the eye of Zeus is neither full nor in profile, but half-way between; and in all other respects the type stands just midway between the majestic simplicity of Period III. and the ornate finish of Period VI. It is also to be observed that if we move back one of the coins of this class we must move back all; even the thunderbolt of No. 6 and the eagle within a wreath of No. 4, though the type does not occur at an earlier period.

I am also so unfortunate as to differ from Prof. Curtius in the name I give to the female head of these coins. He supposes *Ολυμπία* to be a surname of Hera, and the coin to present us with the effigy of that goddess. But

it is a general rule in numismatics to suppose that when a name appears on a coin it is rather the name than the epithet of the deity represented ; besides which I have a difficulty in supposing that Hera could appear on the Elean coin wearing a net in the place of her usual stephanos. A local nymph, on the contrary, would naturally do so. Scarcely would it be possible to find on the obverse and reverse of one coin the heads of two deities so great as Zeus and Hera ; but, under the circumstances I have described, a mere nymph might easily appear on the reverse of a coin devoted to Zeus. It is interesting to place our head beside that of the reclining nymph of the Western Olympian Pediment.

1. *Obv.*—**FAΛEΙΩN**. Head of Zeus to left, laureate.

Rev.—**ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ**. Head of the nymph Olympia to right, wearing sphendone and earring.
Didrachm, B.M.

2. *Obv.*—**FAΛEΙΩN**. Head of Zeus to left, laureate.

Rev.—Eagle to right on the capital of an Ionic column (meta).
Didrachm.

3. *or Rev.*—**FA** or **FAΛEΙΩN**. Eagle to right on meta.
Didrachm.

4. *Obv.*—**FA**. Head of nymph Olympia to right, wearing sphendone and earring.

Rev.—Eagle standing erect to left and looking back, within olive-wreath.
Didrachm, hemidrachm.

5. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Eagle standing to left and looking back.
Obol.

6. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Unwinged thunderbolt. Hemiobol.

7. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to left, laureate.

Rev.—Π Ι Σ Α. Three half thunderbolts.
Gold. Trihemiobol, Berlin.

8. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—Π Ι Σ Α. Thunderbolt. Gold. Obol, B.M.

Dr. F. Kenner¹⁵ has published a silver coin exactly similar to No. 8; it may perhaps be doubted whether this is not a cast: as Dr. Kenner did not at the time know of the gold coins. With regard to the genuineness of No. 7 Dr. von Sallet tells me that Dr. Friedländer and himself have had doubts; to judge from the cast the piece seems perfectly true. The three half-fulmens contain a transparent allusion to the denomination of the coin; and its weight (24 grains) is perfect. The Ω of the inscriptions (Nos. 1—3) is like an O broken, and may in fact be intended for O.

PERIODS VI., VII. B.C. 362—343, 343—323.

After the finish of the Arcadian war we have little historical information with regard to Elis for a long period. During that war the old alliance with the Spartans had been renewed. We have reason to suppose that a period of peace and prosperity for the Eleans followed. But when Philip of Macedon was exerting himself to secure allies in the Peloponnese, the Eleans were among the first to accept his alliance and protection. Indeed the connection of Philip with Olympia was very close. It suited his policy to attract to himself one after another of the great seats of religion. In the 106th Olympiad he won the horse-race at the games, just at the

¹⁵ Num. Zeitschr, 1876, p. 1.

time of the birth of Alexander; and in memory of his victory at Chaeroneia he built the Philippeum at Olympia, a circular building, the remains of which have recently been brought to light. In the year B.C. 343 the Democratic faction at Elis, who had been expelled by the Aristocracy, took advantage of the presence at Elis of some Phocian mercenaries to attempt to reinstate themselves in the city. But they were unsuccessful, and Philip adroitly managed, by giving his protection to the leaders of the Aristocracy, to secure them in his interest. During his life the Eleans remained firm to the Macedonian alliance; and on the succession of Alexander, although they were inclined to revolt,¹⁶ were terrified into submission by the fate of Thebes. But when, after Alexander's death, all Greece rose in arms against his feebler successors, Elis was not wanting. She sent troops to fight against Antipater in what is called the Lamian war, and shared the humiliation of Hellas which followed that war.

The alliance with Philip was not of a character to affect the coinage of Elis; I therefore refrain from dividing the coins which belong to these two periods. Dr. L. Müller has proved in a most satisfactory manner¹⁷ that the states of Peloponnesus went on issuing coins with their own types until the Lamian war; and this was the period of very high excellence in numismatic art. The splendid didrachms of Arcadia, Stymphalus, and Messenia, all of which belong to the time immediately subsequent to Epaminondas, are among the finest of ancient coins. Philip's own coin is often remarkable for beauty, so is that of Alexander of Pherae, and the money issued by the Amphictionic league at the time of the Phocian

¹⁶ Diod., xvii. 3.

¹⁷ Numismatique d'Alex. le Grand, p. 223.

war. With the coins we have cited those of Elis placed under this period range perfectly. In the arrangement of the hair of Hera (Nos. 1, 2), there is a trace of archaism, but it is affected archaism and not genuine. The coins are in high relief, the faces short and full, the expression full of hauteur, the eye correctly represented in profile. The plaits of the hair are worked out in detail, and the earring most elaborate. All these peculiarities mark the art of the middle of the fourth century.

I should decidedly assign to the time of Philip (Period VII.), the coins which bear the full-faced head of a nymph. These coins are like the latest of those issued by Larissa in Thessaly, before that city was swallowed up by the power of Macedon (Nos. 7 and 8).

1. *Obv.*—**FA**. Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos encircled with olive-wreath; her hair plaited at the back.

Rev.—Eagle standing to right, looking back, with closed wings; in olive-wreath. Didrachm, B.M.

2. *Obv.*—**FA**. Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers and marked with the letters **H P A**; her hair plaited at the back.

Rev.—Eagle standing to right or left looking back, with open wings; in olive-wreath. Didrachm.

or Rev.—Similar, without olive-wreath.

Drachm, hemidrachm.

3. *Obv.*—**FA**. Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers; hair turned up at the back.

Rev.—Eagle standing to right or left looking back, wings open or shut; all in olive-wreath.

Didrachm.

4. *or Rev.*—Sometimes the eagle stands on a stag's head, or a hare.

Didrachm, B.M., Canon Greenwell.

5. *or Rev.*—Similar, without olive-wreath.

Hemidrachm.

6. *Obv.*—**FA**. Head of Hera to right, wearing pointed stephane.

Rev.—Eagle's head to right; in olive-wreath.

Obol, B.M.

In these periods the style in which the eagle is treated is freer; he stands with spread wings and turns towards the spectator. The style of the head of Hera is very fine. The reverse type of No. 4 occurs at Croton in Italy; its meaning is obscure. On some pieces of class 5 **FAΛEIQN** appears on the stephanos. On a piece similar (Berlin Coll.) Dr. Weil reads **AAEIQN** (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1879). On the reverse of one didrachm of class 2 or 3 the letters **ΠΟ** (engraver's name?) occur (see Thomas's Sale Catalogue, No. 1536, and above, p. 244).

7. *Obv.*—Head of nymph, slightly turned towards the left.

Rev.—Eagle standing to right; behind him caduceus; all within olive-wreath.

Drachm, Paris.

8. Similar; on reverse **FA**.

Hemidrachm, Paris.

Dr. E. Curtius has given conjecturally to Elis (Hermes, x. 242) coins which bear Corinthian types (*obv.* head of goddess helmeted; *rev.* Pegasus flying), but have, behind the head on the obverse, either the letters **FA** or an eagle carrying the prey. I doubt this attribution, partly because I consider it most unlikely that Elis would ever adopt the types of Corinth, partly because generally in the Corinthian series, the letters which mark the mint are placed beneath the Pegasus, not on the obverse of the coin, unless the name of the mint is written at length.

PERIOD VIII.—B.C. 323—312.

It is probable, as Dr. L. Müller has shown, that after the Lamian war, and the complete victory of Antipater, many states of Greece ceased to issue coin with their own types; but adopted in the place of them the types of Alexander the Great, and minted in his name. This may probably have been the case in Elis: certainly I do not find among the Elean coins any which I should be disposed to attribute to this time. Just now none of the Greek cities were really autonomous, but passed from general to general; being now dependent on Antigonos, now on Ptolemy, now on Cassander, now on Polysperchon. But the money issued by all these kings and pretenders bore the name of Alexander; it was not until the death of Aegus in 311 that any of them began to issue money in their own names.

To this period at Elis may perhaps be assigned coins bearing the types of Alexander the Great, and belonging to Class IV. in the arrangement of Müller. Among the numerous pieces assigned by this authority to Sicyon it is probable that some were issued in other cities of Peloponnesus. The basis of the classification is the discovery of a large hoard of similar pieces at Sicyon,¹⁸ and the fact that in the field of these occur many symbols not unusual on the Sicyonian coin. The class is distinguished mostly by two Victories which stand on the back of the seat of Zeus on the reverse. But there is no special reason to suppose that all the pieces alike come from the Sicyonian mint; and some bear symbols which belong rather to other cities. Nos. 894 and 895 of Müller's Peloponnesian class have a thunderbolt in the field; and these

¹⁸ Mr. Newton in the Num. Chron., vol. xvi. p. 31.

may not improbably have been issued at Elis. It is noteworthy that the coins of Philip bear a reproduction of the head of the Zeus of Olympia; those of Alexander present us with his figure at full length.

PERIOD IX.—B.C. 312.

About the year 312 an event occurred which might have had great results on the fortunes of Elis. Telesphorus,¹⁹ a general of Antigonos, the so-called King of Asia, who commanded some troops in the Peloponnese, being jealous because another general named Ptolemy (not the Egyptian king) was set over his head, revolted against his lord, and marching with his troops against Elis, occupied the city with the intention apparently of making it an independent power in the Peloponnese, and seized the temple treasures to the amount of fifty talents of silver in order to pay mercenaries. At this time it was nothing but a scramble who should secure the best slice of the empire of Alexander. Sicyon had recently become the capital of an independent kingdom; and it was quite doubtful which of the many pretenders would secure the throne of Macedon itself. However, the rule of Telesphorus soon came to an end. The general Ptolemy marched on Elis, drove Telesphorus from the Acropolis, and restored freedom to the people, and the treasures to the Olympian god. The people of Elis raised a monument to Demetrius, son of Antigonos, as their deliverer.

There are, so far as I know, no coins bearing the name of Telesphorus. Indeed, it is most unlikely that he would issue money in his own name while Alexander

¹⁹ Droysen, *Die Diadochen*, ii. p. 39. (New Edition.)

Aegus was alive. He would either coin in the name and with the types of Alexander the Great, or else use the name and types of the Eleans. Below I give a list of certain coins which may or may not have been issued by Telesphorus, but which appear to me certainly to belong to the age of Antigonus and Demetrius. They are strikingly like the coins of Euboea which are given to this period. The head of the nymph is quite Euboean, and the bunch of grapes and vine-leaf occur on coins of Euboea and its cities. But on the other hand there is no reason to suppose a connection between Telesphorus and Euboea. It must be observed that the attribution of these coins to this time is somewhat conjectural; we do not reach firm ground until we come to the tyranny of Aristotimus (Period XI.).

The leaf in the field of No. 3 (reverse) is certainly a vine-leaf. M. Duchalais, in his able paper already referred to,²⁰ started the ingenious notion that both on this coin and the beautiful piece (Period IV. 2) the leaf was of the plant *ophiostaphylum*, and was a symbolical way of representing the serpent which appears on other coins. Though M. Duchalais supports this theory with much ingenuity, it is somewhat fanciful, and the presence of the grapes on some of the coins here cited (1 and 2) must be considered a sufficient refutation of it.

1. *Obv.*—Head of a nymph (Olympia ?) to left; hair rolled.

2. *or Obv.*—**FA.** Head of Hera (?) to right, bound with broad taenia. Hunter Museum.

Rev.—**FA.** Eagle standing to left; behind him, vine-leaf and bunch of grapes. Hemidrachm.

²⁰ *Revue Num.*, 1852.

3. *Obv.*—Head of a nymph to right.

Rev.—**FA.** Eagle standing to left and looking back ;
behind or in front vine-leaf. Obol.

4. *or Rev.*—**FA.** Eagle standing to left. Obol.

5. *Obv.*—Head of Hera to right wearing tall stephanos.

Rev.—**F.** Eagle standing to right. Obol, B.M.

6. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.—No legend. Eagle to right, looking back ; behind,
bunch of grapes. Obol, Paris.

PERIOD X.—B.C. 312—271.

After the expulsion of Telesphorus the Eleans are said to have recovered their independence ; but it was independence of a most precarious kind, and must have repeatedly disappeared in presence of the contending armies of Polysperchon, Cassander, and Demetrius. Lack of information compels us to refrain from the attempt to trace the fortunes of Elis during these stormy times, nor would a narrative of her history, could it be written, prove very instructive. But there are facts which show that she preserved after all a certain autonomy. Thus Pausanias saw at Olympia several statues of Areus, King of Sparta, who led the memorable rising against Antigonus in 280 ; and one at least of these was dedicated by the Eleans publicly, which looks as if they had joined his cause. There was also a statue of Pyrrhus set up by his partisans. Indeed, when Pyrrhus entered Peloponnese some of his party in Elis revolted. Sparta, as the ally of Elis, offered the city troops, in order to put down the faction. But the Messenians sent privily a body of troops who, under the guise of Spartans, secured an entry

into the city, and then handed it over to a partisan of their own named Aristotimus, who became despot.

A considerable number of coins seem to have been struck about this time by the Eleans, probably in the intervals of their independence. The careless execution and inferior art of these pieces will not allow us to give them to an earlier period; but they seem, on the other hand, to be distinctly prior to the time of Aristotimus, especially as no name of tyrant or of magistrate occurs on them, and no copper coin goes with them. The head of Zeus (No. 1 obverse) resembles that on the money of the restored Boeotian league, which must have been minted about this time.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus with flowing hair, to right, laureate.
Rev.—**FA**. Eagle standing to right and looking back,
wings spread. Didrachm, B.M.
or Rev.—**FAΛΕΙΩΝ**. Eagle to right on capital.
Didrachm, Mr. T. Jones.
or Rev.—**FA**. Same type; in field, thunderbolt.
Didrachm, Paris.
2. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.
Rev.—**FA**. Eagle standing to right; in field, leaf of
olive. Hemidrachm.
3. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Eagle standing to right, on meta.
Hemidrachm.
4. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Eagle standing to right or left, looking
back. Obol.
5. *Obv.*—**FA** (sometimes). Head of Hera to right, wearing
stephanos on which is the word **FAΛΕΙΩΝ**,
and earring with three pendants.
Rev.—Eagle standing to left on shield, head turned back,
and wings spread; within olive-wreath.
Didrachm.

6. *Obv.*—**F A**. Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers, over which her hair is rolled.

Rev.—**F**. Type as last. Didrachm.

7. *or Rev.*—Eagle standing to right within olive-wreath. Didrachm.

8. *Obv.*—**F A**. Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos.

Rev.—Eagle standing to left on shield, head turned back and wings spread. Hemidrachm.

9. *Obv.*—**F A** (on stephanos or in field). Head of Hera to left, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers.

Rev.—Eagle standing to left, with closed wings, in olive-wreath ; sometimes thunderbolt in field. Didrachm.

10. *Obv.*—Head of nymph to right, hair rolled.

Rev.—**F A**. Eagle standing to left and looking back, wings open. Hemidrachm.

11. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—**FA** (retrogr.). Eagle standing to right and looking back ; in field, pattern. Obol.

PERIOD XI.—B.C. 271.

Under the last head I have related in what manner the tyranny over Elis came into the hands of Aristotimus. The date of his rule can be only approximately given ; but we know that it almost immediately succeeded the death of Pyrrhus in B.C. 272, and only lasted five months.²¹ What his tyranny wanted in duration it made up in intensity. He collected together a number

²¹ Justin, xxvi. 1.

of mercenaries and assassins, and permitted them to commit every crime and outrage against the inhabitants of Elis; of whom eight hundred fled to the kindred Aetolians for protection. While he was meditating how to get them into his power, Aristotimus was assassinated by a troop of conspirators, among whom was his friend Cylon. His family were ordered to put themselves to death; and the heroism of his two beautiful daughters, attracting the attention of Phylarchus, has been the means of preserving to us this episode in history.

We can scarcely be wrong in assigning to the rule of Aristotimus a number of coins bearing the initials **AP** and **API**, and quite of the style of this period; to which, indeed, I had assigned them before I read on them the name of the tyrant. That they are numerous in proportion to the short reign of the issuer is easily explained. A ruler who keeps up a standing army of mercenaries is obliged to strike a great deal of money for their pay; and it is unlikely that Aristotimus, who committed every kind of outrage against the Eleans, would have spared the treasures of Olympia, which lay at his mercy.

With Aristotimus certain novelties are introduced into the coinage. The serpent, instead of being in the claws of the eagle, stands up and faces him (No. 3). Certainly in the history of the tyrant we find vice defying divine punishment; yet we can scarcely suppose that the type was changed in order to give it a meaning so damnatory of the striker of the coin. The appearance of the free horse is also remarkable. In Sicily the free horse appears in the time of Timoleon, and refers to the worship of Zeus Eleutherius, and the recovery of freedom by the Sicilian cities which had been under the yoke of Diony-

sus. We cannot assign any parallel meaning to it in this case.

But Elis was at all times celebrated for her breed of mares; and a usurper like Aristotimus might choose to remind the people themselves and neighbouring cities of the fact. We have now reached a time when other than religious types might make their way on coin.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus with flowing hair to right, laureate.

Rev.— $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{F A} \\ \text{A P I} \end{smallmatrix}$. Eagle, standing erect to right; behind him thunderbolt, and in front wreath.

Didrachm.

2. *or Rev.*— $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{F A} \\ \text{A P} \end{smallmatrix}$. Eagle standing to right on ram's head.

Didrachm.

3. *or Rev.*— $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{F A} \\ \text{A P} \end{smallmatrix}$. Eagle standing to right; in front, serpent erect,

Didrachm.

4. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.— $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{F A} \\ \text{A P I} \end{smallmatrix}$ *or* $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A P} \\ \text{F A} \end{smallmatrix}$. Thunderbolt in olive-wreath.

Hemidrachm.

5. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.— $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A P} \\ \text{F A} \end{smallmatrix}$. Free or bridled horse trotting or galloping to right.

Copper.

PERIOD XII.—B.C. 271—191.

There is no reason to suppose that the fall of Aristotimus brought a very real amelioration to the condition of the Eleans. In all probability they continued to pass from one tyrant to another. We know that in the days of Aratus almost all the cities of Peloponnesus were in the hands of despots. The only means of escaping the tyranny of these masters was by joining the Achaean League. But this course was scarcely open to the Eleans.

By race they were closely connected with the great rivals of the Achaeans, the Aetolians, and seem at all times to have sided with them. And the Aetolian League being united by more frail bonds of union than those which bound together the Achaean cities, it was quite possible for a city to belong to it, and yet retain any form of government to which it was accustomed. Indeed, in the case of cities far from Aetolia, becoming a member of that league meant little but paying a tax to buy off the piratical attacks of the Aetolians. These latter, however, were well disposed towards Elis, and found the Elcan fortresses a very convenient place of arms in Peloponnesus, and a base of operations when they wanted to attack an Achaean city.

In the lamentable wars between Sparta and the Achaeans which darkened the last days of Greek independence, Elis was to be found on the Spartan side. In 226 B.C. Aratus led an army to compel Elis to join the league. Cleomenes hastened to the succour of the city, and overthrew the troops of Aratus with great slaughter. But in 191, after Antiochus of Syria had been expelled from Greece by the Romans, the Achaeans renewed their attempts upon Elis; and this time with success. Elis came with great reluctance into the league which now comprised all the cities of Peloponnesus.

It is easy to identify the coins of this period, because the types of Aristotimus are preserved, and the execution degenerates. Almost all the money bears in the field letters which are in all probability the initials of the names of successive tyrants. It is by no means improbable that a more thorough examination of the works of the historians of later Hellas than I have been able to make might enable us to discover, in some cases, the

names of which the coins offer us the first letters. On this attempt I have spent some pains, but without success, for I cannot allow that ΠΥΡ may stand for Pyrrhias, one of the many generals lent from time to time by the Aetolians to their allies of Elis.

It is curious to find in some of the coins detailed below a decided return to the earlier types of the city. The eagle's head of No. 5 may be compared with the same type in Period IV., and in No. 4 we find on both sides of the piece the very types with which our lists began. In justification of the assignment of the present pieces to so low a date, we must mention that their style is very poor; that the magistrate ΣΩ who issued pieces of the type of No. 4 also issued pieces of the type of No. 2; and that the weight of the No. 4 coins is about seventy grains, that is to say, too low for any previous period. We have above mentioned the fact that it is only at the end of the third century B.C. that the weights of the Elean coins begin to fall. By far the most interesting of the new types of the period is the serpent on a capital of a column (No. 11). We must remember that in the Hellenistic age the serpent came into very great honour in the Greek world, both in connection with the mystic rites of Demeter and Dionysus, and as the symbol of the god Asclepius, who daily became more popular. On the early coins of Elis the serpent holds anything but an honourable position, but now he usurps the place of the eagle of Zeus, receiving honour like that which he wins on later coins of Pergamus, Cos, and a host of other cities.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.—**F A.** Eagle and serpent, erect, facing one another.
In field, **ΔΙ**, or thunderbolt and **H**, or **H P**.
Didrachm.

2. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—**F A.** Eagle to right, standing on meta ; in field, serpent (Leake) thunderbolt, **ΣΩ**, or **A**.
Didrachm, hemidrachm.

3. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—**FA.** Thunderbolt in olive-wreath ; sometimes in field, **AM**.
Hemidrachm.

4. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, holding hare in talons.

Rev.—**F A.** Winged thunderbolt. Drachm.

Sometimes on *obv.* **Σ**, on *rev.* **ΣΩ** and wreath.
Drachm, B.M.

or on *rev.* diota and **AΓ** in mon.

Drachm, Hunter.

5. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right.

Rev.—Eagle's head to right.
Diobol (23 grs.), Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.

6. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.—**F A.** Eagle to right ; below, **Δ**, &c. ; sometimes all in olive-wreath.
Copper.

7. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—**F A.** Eagle to right with spread wings, struggling with serpent.
Copper.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.—**FA.** Thunderbolt ; below, **KA**.
Copper, Paris.

9. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to left or right, laureate.

Rev.—**F A.** Horse trotting or galloping to left or right ; in field, **ΔΥ**, **ΕΙ** and thunderbolt, **ΓΥΡ**, **ΑΡΜΟ**, **ΓΛΟ**, **ΣΑ**, &c.

Copper.

10. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate ; behind, Δ I.
Rev.—**FΛEI**. Horse galloping to right ; below, Δ or A.
 Copper.
11. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.
Rev.—**FA**. Serpent erect to left on capital (meta ?).
 Copper.
12. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas to right, helmeted.
Rev.—**F A**. Winged thunderbolt. Copper, Paris.

PERIOD XIII.—B.C. 191—146.

With the successful attempt of the Achaeans to force Elis into their league the history of the city may be said to end. It was not destroyed in war, for the Achaeans had their way without fighting ; nay, it is probable that the city and district retained a good deal of prosperity in comparison with the neighbouring districts. The Eleans were at all times given to rural employments, to the farm and the stable ; and people in such a case feel less the results of political revolutions. Their land, too, has always been rich and fertile. And more especially the Olympian festival by no means lost its honour amid the decay of freedom, but rather was looked on with more respect. But as a political entity and force the city disappears. The historian has no more to narrate of it, and leaves the subject entirely to the archæologist.

The coins issued by the Eleans as members of the Achaean league are very numerous and varied. They are, so far as is known, in silver only, and bear the usual types of the league.

Obv.—Head of Zeus Homagyrus to right, laureate (in one case to left).

Rev.—Monogram of Achaea within laurel-wreath.
 Hemidrachm, or Corinthian drachm.

The mint-mark of the Elean coins is **FA** and thunder-bolt, or either separately.

These coins fall into two classes : earlier and later.

- (1) Those with monograms or names of magistrates on the reverse only ; among them **ΛΥ**, **ΣΩ**, **ΩΩ**, **ΩΩ**, **ΩΩ**, &c.
- (2) Those with magistrates' names on the obverse ; among other names those of **ΑΓΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ**, **ΔΑΜΑΙΩΝ**, **ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΣ**, **ΘΡΑΣΥΛΕΩΝ**, **ΚΑΛΛΙΓΓΟΣ**, **ΝΙΚΙΑΣ**, **ΠΑΝΤΙΣΟΣ**, **ΦΙΛΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ**, and **ΚΑ** in monogram.

The weight of these pieces varies ; and, so far as style gives indication, seems to sink steadily. The best and earliest pieces weigh about 38 grains, the worst and latest about 30 grains. Mr. Finlay finds in this fact²² a confirmation of Polybius's complaint as to Greek honesty at this time ; but it is right also to make some account of circumstances. If in earlier ages the Eleans had lowered the weight of their coin, it would not have circulated beyond the city, as everywhere it would have rival issues to compete with ; but the money of all the cities of the league being nearly uniform, it would become the policy of every mint to issue money that would just be taken, but contain no superfluous silver. Moreover, the dishonesty of neighbours might compel any state to lower the standard in self-defence.

PERIOD XIV.—B.C. 146—43.

At this time the main currency of Greece consisted of Athenian tetradrachms, coins of Macedonia Romana, and Roman denarii. Elis issued only a few copper pieces. Of

²² Num. Chron., 1866, p. 28.

these there are existing two abundant sets; those which have a wreath on the reverse (No. 1), and those which revive the type of the striding Zeus (No. 2), taking it from the coinage of the Messenians. Dr. Weil informs me that in the course of the recent excavations large numbers of pieces of the latter class were found, very often in company with coins of the earlier Roman emperors, which shows how late their circulation must have continued.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.— $\begin{matrix} \text{FA} \\ \text{AEI} \\ \text{ΩN} \end{matrix}$ in olive-wreath; sometimes **EY**, **H**, **Π**, &c.
below. Copper.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo to right.

Rev.—**FA**. Zeus naked, striding to right; holds in right hand thunderbolt; on left wrist, eagle. In the field various letters and monograms, **A**, **ME**, **HP** and so forth.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo.

Rev.—**FA**. Eagle (?) within olive-wreath (obscure).
Copper, Paris.

Count Prokesch-Osten, in his *Inedita* of 1854, mentions as belonging to Elis the following copper coins apparently of Roman times:—

Obv.—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.—Winged thunderbolt in wreath; and the letters
 $\begin{matrix} \text{AB} & \text{EB} \\ \text{EY} & \text{or AS} \end{matrix}$

These do not bear the name of Elis, but were found there.

PERIOD XV.—B.C. 43—A.D. 217.

The Imperial coins of Elis are less rare than those of most cities of Greece proper. When the results of the late excavations are published in detail, we shall pro-

bably have many new types to add to our list. Certainly we shall find coins of new Emperors, for Dr. Weil tells me that many pieces of the first century A.D. were found, and of these Mionnet knows nothing. No doubt also we shall receive a large addition to the known varieties of autonomous copper coins of earlier periods. Silver pieces were seldom found, or, if found, were concealed by the workmen.

By far the most important of the Imperial types already known are the seated figure and the head of the Olympian Zeus. The full-length figure of Zeus seated recurs on many coins and in various attitudes. The usual one is that which appears on the money of Alexander the Great, and after his time at very many cities. It is also found on the money of Antiochus IV. of Syria. Zeus is depicted as seated on a throne with high back, holding in one hand an eagle or Nike, and in the other a long sceptre. His himation lies about his waist, either leaving the upper part of the body bare or else hanging lightly over the left shoulder. Usually a stool is beneath his feet. This, then, is the usual or conventional figure of Zeus on coins; and no doubt its prototype is to be found in the Zeus of Phidias. Alexander introduced the type on his coins because he claimed the patronage of the Olympian god. Antiochus of Syria specially placed himself under the protection of that deity, giving up in his favour the Apollo of his fathers. The Elean coins complete the circle of evidence. But this figure can only help us in the most general way if we wish to imagine the figure of the Phidian Zeus. It is quite conventional, and in the details coin differs so much from coin that all cannot be right, and it seems very likely that all may be wrong.

There is one coin of Elis issued in the time of Hadrian

which bears a less slight and conventional character. This is the Florentine piece which appears on my last plate (No. 1). In this case we find certain distinct departures from the usual design; and we can have little doubt in concluding that the die-cutter's object was to produce a more faithful copy of the world-famed statue. With this end he threw the figure of Zeus more correctly into profile by making the left arm project in front of the body and not behind it, as previous artists had done in an attempt at perspective. And he evidently tried to improve the type of the head. Also he represented the drapery falling from the left shoulder more clearly than had been done hitherto. In this last respect he has gone too far, and produced a clumsy effect by completely covering the left arm of the god with the mantle. But I regard our coin as a conclusive proof that the himation of Phidias' Zeus did reach his left shoulder; for though our die-sinker had not very great skill, he had no motive for being unfaithful. It is, of course, absurd to suppose that from a figure of this size and this period one can recover many of the minor details of the great statue.

The coin which bears the head of Zeus (No. 3) is unique, and no second one has been found during the excavations. It is certainly a remarkable work, and it is no wonder that it has caused wide differences of opinion. While some writers, among them Overbeck, see in it a faithful imitation, even to detail, of the head of Phidias' statue, and declare the design to be in every way admirable, others, like Stephani,²³ speak very slightly of its merits, and suppose it to resemble very remotely indeed the head of the deity in the temple. It is with great

²³ S. Petersburg *Comptes Rendus* for 1875; cf. Overbeck's *Kunstmythologie*, vol. ii.

diffidence that I enter at all on the controversy, and I will confine myself closely to its numismatic aspects.

There are on Greek coins two general or leading types for the head of Zeus. They are easily distinguished by the cast of features and the hair. In the earlier type, the features are large and severe, the hair, either short, or if longer, hanging straight. This is no doubt in the main the Phidian type. The best of all specimens is on the coin of Elis (Period III., 1); and less fine examples are found under Period V. In the later type, which we may term the Praxitelean, because it comes in just at the time of that master, the hair is rich and flowing, the facial line less upright, and the features full of energy, but not so majestic. This is the leonine type of Zeus, and prevails henceforward upon coins; and this is the type reproduced on nineteen out of twenty of existing statues and busts. The treatment in this type of hair and feature is, as is generally allowed, quite the contrary of that of the time of Phidias. We find this type also at Elis (Period X., 1); but nothing there equal to the fine Arcadian money.

We must specially mention two sets of coins which bear heads which seem specially intended for that of the Olympic Zeus. The first set is the didrachms of Philip of Macedon. The head on these is in character strikingly like the bearded heads of the Parthenon frieze and of the earlier Athenian sepulchral reliefs; but the expression less calm and dignified, and more full of spirit. The second set is that of the rare tetradrachms of Antiochus IV. of Syria, which present to us in the place of the King's head that of the Olympian Zeus, his guardian deity.²⁴

²⁴ Cat. of Seleucidae, Pl. XI. 9.

This type is very fine for the period ; but the hair is too ornate and the features too insignificant for an exact copy of any work of the time of Phidias.

The head on our coin of Hadrian differs from all these. The piece seems to have suffered from oxidation at the top of the nose and the bottom of the brow, so that the facial line is destroyed. The expression of the features is certainly majestic. But the most noteworthy features are hair and beard, both of which fall in long straight lines. In this respect it is unlike all the coins I have met. On the other hand it appears certain that the engraver of our coin intended to represent accurately the Zeus of Phidias, for what else should have been his intention ? To the utmost of his capacity—and the portrait of Hadrian on the obverse shows that he was not unskilful—he endeavoured to imitate his model.

Coins then offer for the determination what was the character of the head of Phidias' statue three sets of monuments:—(1) Coins belonging to the same time and place as the great statue ; (2) coins issued during the fourth and second century B.C., and intended to portray the *Olympic* Zeus rather than any other ; and (3) a coin of the second century A.D. intended for an exact copy of the Phidian head. And at this point I stop ; and having laid the premisses before the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle, refrain from drawing a conclusion, which could only be legitimately reached after a discussion too long for these pages.

There are a few interesting types at Elis besides that of the Olympian Zeus. Under Hadrian a warrior appears, holding a spear and leading a horse. Dr. Friedländer asserts that this is Pelops, and we know that the invading Eleans did appropriate the heroes of their pre-

decessors the Pisatae. On the pediment of the temple of Zeus appears the chariot-race between Oenomaüs and Pelops. But it should be observed that Pelops, when he occurs on the coins of Smyrna and other places, is usually a charioteer; that he should be represented as a horseman is, to say the least, unusual. Under the same emperor we find a conventional representation of a river god, doubtless Alpheius, who was at Olympia treated with signal honour. In his eleventh Olympic ode Pindar mentions the name of Alpheius in connection with those of the twelve great gods; and in the Altis he shared the altar of Artemis. Artemis also makes her appearance on the coins of Hadrian; not, however, as Limnatis in Peloponnesian form, but as Tauropolos riding on a bull. Other types do not call for special remark.

The Imperial coins of Elis appear to end with Caracalla: inscription **ΗΛΕΙΩΝ**.

TYPES OF REVERSE—HADRIAN.

Figure of Zeus Olympius seated to left; two varieties.

Florence (1) and Berlin (2).

Figure of Zeus Olympius seated to right.

Berlin.

Head of Zeus Olympius to right (3).

Paris.

Satyr, holding bunch of grapes and pedum.

Mionnet.

Heroic figure (Pelops?) holding a spear in the right hand, and with his left the rein of a horse.

Milan.

River god (Alpheius) reclining, holds in his right hand a wreath, in his left a reed; at his feet an urn with a palm; *or* holds cornucopiæ and reed.

Artemis, holding in each hand a torch, seated sideways on bull (?) which gallops to right.

B.M.

Inscription within olive-wreath.

Eagle facing with spread wings; in beak, wreath. Paris.

TYPES OF REVERSE—MARCUS AURELIUS.

The Emperor on horseback. Mionnet.

TYPES OF REVERSE—SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Head of Zeus Olympius. (*Rightly described ?*) Vaillant.

Head of the Indian Dionysus, ivy-crowned. Mionnet.

Eagle with wings spread ; in beak, wreath.

Inscription in olive-wreath.

TYPES OF REVERSE—CARACALLA.

Zeus Olympius seated to left. B.M.

Inscription in olive-wreath.

Before closing this lengthy article I have only to thank M. Chabouillet, of Paris, and Drs. von Sallet and Weil, of Berlin, for casts and valuable information, and more especially, M. Six of Amsterdam and Dr. Imhoof-Blumer of Winterthur, for much and most friendly assistance.

PERCY GARDNER.

XVIII.

COINS FROM KASHGAR.

I WISH to call the attention of numismatists to some coins mentioned in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.¹ They were brought by Sir T. Douglas Forsyth from a region as yet little explored, Kashgar, which lies to the north of Thibet, and on the western margin of the great Desert of Gobi. From what the Greek and Roman geographers say, we should have presumed that in the times of the successors of Alexander this region was inhabited only by wandering tribes of Scythians. Ptolemy assigns the neighbourhood of the Kashgar river to a tribe called *Xárai*, whom he expressly designates as Scythians. But it is now known, on the testimony of Chinese writers, that at a period not long after our era there were settled tribes and cities in that district.² There are still, buried under the shifting sands of the desert, remains of what seem to have been wealthy towns. It would appear that these vary considerably in date; from some of those which have been overwhelmed in comparatively recent times, blocks of tea are recovered which are still fit for market. But some would appear to have been very long buried; and these, according to the belief of the inhabitants, are

¹ Vol. xlvii. p. 12.

² As to this I must refer to the note kindly added to my paper by Mr. Howorth.

full of temples, and of rich spoils of gold and precious stones. The interesting question arises whether the Greek successors of Alexander in Bactria and India had a footing in these regions, and whether some of the cities were built by them. The silence of the geographers as to such influence would incline us to be sceptical as to its existence. It would seem from the evidence of the coins brought home by Sir T. D. Forsyth, that Greek influence did not reach the region until the time of the Indo-Scythic conquerors of India. These coins he procured in the town of Khotan, together with some gold rings of Indian type. From the neighbouring town of Kiria he got an image of Buddha of about the tenth century, and a clay figure of Hanuman.

1. DRACHM OF ANTIMACHUS II.

Obv.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.**
Victory to left, holding palm and wreath; in front monogram Π .

Rev.—Māhārajasa jayadharasa Antimākhasa. The king right, on horseback.

Weight, 37·8.

2. DRACHM OF MENANDER.

Obv.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.**
Bust of the king left, armed with ægis and thrusting with spear.

Rev.—Māhārajasa tradatasa Menadrassa. Pallas left, fighting; behind monogram Π .

Weight, 26·8.

3. IRON COIN OF HERMÆUS (?)

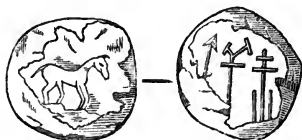
Obv.—Māhārajasa raja yasa (Māhārajasa rajadirajasa tradatasa Heramaya a?). Horse to right. (See cut No. 1.)

Rev.—Uncertain device, surrounded by a circle of unascertained characters, the whole within a border of labyrinthine pattern. (Too obscure to engrave.)

Size, 1 inch.



1.



2.

4. IRON COIN.

Obv.—Horse to right; below, inscription (?)

Rev.—Figures resembling a standard, a thunderbolt, and other devices.

Size, .75. (See cut No. 2.)

5. BARBAROUS COPY OF BYZANTINE GOLD COIN OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Obv.—Barbarous legend. Bust of the emperor facing; spear over shoulder.

Rev.—Barbarous legend. Angel to left, holding cross.

Weight, 21 grs.

6. GOLD COIN OF JUSTIN I.

Obv.—**DN IVSTIN** Bust of the emperor facing; spear over shoulder.

Rev.—**VICTORIA** Angel facing holds in her right hand a staff surmounted by the Christian monogram, in her left hand a globe surmounted by a cross; beneath it a star. In ex., **CONOB**.

Weight, 35 grs. Clipped.

7. GOLD COIN OF JUSTINIAN.

Obv.—**DN IVSTINI ANVS P F**. Bust of the emperor facing; holds in right hand globe surmounted by cross.

Rev.—**VICTORI A AVGGG**. Type as last. In ex.,
CONOB.

Weight, 43 grs.

8. GOLD COIN OF HERACLIUS AND HERACLIUS CONSTANTINE.

Obv.—Confused inscription; only **CONST**. visible. Busts of the Augusti facing; between them, cross.

Rev.—**VICTOR IVC 4 E**. Cross on base. In ex.,
COHO.

Weight, 63 grs.

A few observations suggest themselves with regard to these coins. The silver pieces of Antimachus and Menander are of good style. Their mint-marks are very common, occurring frequently on pieces found in Cabul. General Cunningham thinks that they indicate different mints; but it appears to me more likely that they are but varied forms of the same monogram. The gold Byzantine coins seem all to be barbarous copies. In legend and in type they are far degraded from their originals, though in varying degrees; and the weights are most uncertain. But with regard to all the pieces I have mentioned, there is nothing to show that they may not have found their way into Kashgar either in course of trade, or as the booty of some marauding expedition.

The case is otherwise with the very interesting iron coin, No. 3. That it is really of iron has been proved by chemical analysis. In scarcely any other climate could a piece of iron have been so well preserved as this is; but

the desert of Gobi is almost rainless, and the air of extreme dryness. Nevertheless, our piece has suffered much from oxidation, especially on the reverse. The legend, as I have given it, is certain, and in addition there is a letter visible which looks like the M of Hermæus' name. But it is noteworthy that on his proper coins Hermæus does not call himself rajadiraja³ (King of Kings), and it is quite possible that the name on the coin is not his at all. The letter in question might almost as well be the BI of the name of Archebius; but Archebius also does not call himself King of Kings. However this be, it is quite certain, from the character of the Arian letters, that the coin belongs to the first century before the Christian era.

The oxidation of the reverse deprives us of a most valuable historical datum. On it there are clearly visible the remains of letters whose square outlines make them look different from all letters derived from a Phœnician source. I believe that Mr. Thomas and myself came independently to the opinion that they were early Chinese characters. But the Chinese scholars to whom I have applied are unable authoritatively to confirm the idea; and the letters are so decayed that none of them can be reproduced. Our only resource is therefore to await another specimen. If our coin were really issued in Kashgar, as seems almost certain, for iron money must have been quite of a local character, it is by no means improbable that it would bear a Chinese legend.

No. 4 is also a local iron coin. It would appear to be of a later date than the last mentioned. In appearance it resembles the degraded copies of Scythian coins which

³ Except on some semi-barbarous copper. "Num. Chron." 1872, p. 170. Hermæus was closely allied with the Scythian Kadphises.

were issued in such numbers and in such variety in the northern districts of India between the first and the sixth century of our era. But it is different from anything in the plates of Prinsep, and seems to belong to a new coinage.

On the whole it appears that Greek influence did penetrate into Kashgar, but only in the times when the Sakas and Yu-chi had established themselves in the north of India, and become imbued with the Hellenistic civilisation which there prevailed. From India the culture, such as it was, would naturally spread upwards towards the sources of the race. Whether it spread to the borders of China, or into China itself, is a question on which I prefer not to enter.

PERCY GARDNER.

Mr. Gardner has asked me to add to his paper a note on the topography of the country beyond the Pamir plateau in early times. The subject is a wide one, and I must limit myself to the baldest epitome.

The vast area bounded on the west by the Pamir, on the east by China, and on the north and south by the Tien Shan and the Kuenlun ranges respectively, was well known to the Chinese from the time of the dynasty of the Elder Han. The Chinese geographers divide it into two areas, answering to the cultivated strips of country which border the Tien Shan on the south, and the Kuenlun on the north. The former they describe as the northern road, and the latter as the southern. Each of them was broken up into a series of small principalities. Those along the northern road were inhabited and controlled by Turkish tribes under various names; those along the

south by tribes of doubtful origin, but among whom there was undoubtedly a very considerable Arian mixture. The account given in the annals of Elder Han of these petty principalities will be shortly published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, by my friend Mr. Wylie.

This is the district of the famous cities buried under the sand of which so many romantic reports have reached us, and which was probably once occupied by the Yuechi, or Getæ, whose descendants are the Juts of north-western India. Khoten and its neighbourhood are very frequently mentioned in the Chinese annals; and, as is well known, Abel Remusat collected from them a most valuable history of Khoten, which forms a goodly quarto volume. The subject is so wide and interesting that one is tempted to enlarge upon it. I will limit myself, however, to two short quotations from the annals of the Elder Han, relating to the coins of two central Asian states, which may be interesting to the Society, and which I will quote from Mr. Wylie's translation. In describing Kipin, *i.e.* the ancient kingdom of Kophene, the modern Kabulistan, we are told that when the Hiongnu, *i.e.* the Turks, subjugated the Ta Yuechi, *i.e.* the Massagetæ, the latter migrated westward, and gained the dominion over the Tahia or Dahæ, whereupon the King of the Sæ (*i.e.* Sacæ) moved south, and ruled over Kipin... . . . The people there were ingenious in carving, ornamenting, engraving, and inlaying; in building palaces and mansions, weaving nets, ornamental fret-work and embroidery, and excelled in cooking. They had gold, silver, copper, and tin, of which they made vessels, and exposed them for sale. *They had a gold and a silver currency: on the obverse of their money was a man on horseback, and on the reverse a*

man's face. The annals call the King of Kipin, Woo tow laou, which, Mr. Wylie argues, is a corruption of the Greek Adelphos, which occurs on the coins of Spalyrios, the King of the Sacæ of Kophene.

The annals, in describing Gansuh, or Parthia, tell us the soil, climate, productions, and customs of the people were the same as those of Kipin. "They also have a silver coinage with the King's head on the obverse, and a woman's head on the reverse. When the King dies they immediately cast new coins." On this passage, Mr. Wylie remarks how truly it describes the coins of Phraates, who mounted the throne in B.C. 2, and who put the portrait of his mother, Musa, on the reverses of his money. The annals add a curious sentence to the effect that the Parthians wrote on skins in horizontal lines, in which manner they kept their records.

H. H. HOWORTH.

ERRATA.—In this volume the Autotype Plates of Italian Medals numbered V., VI., and VII. should be VIII., IX., and X.

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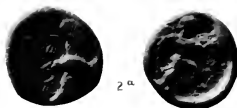
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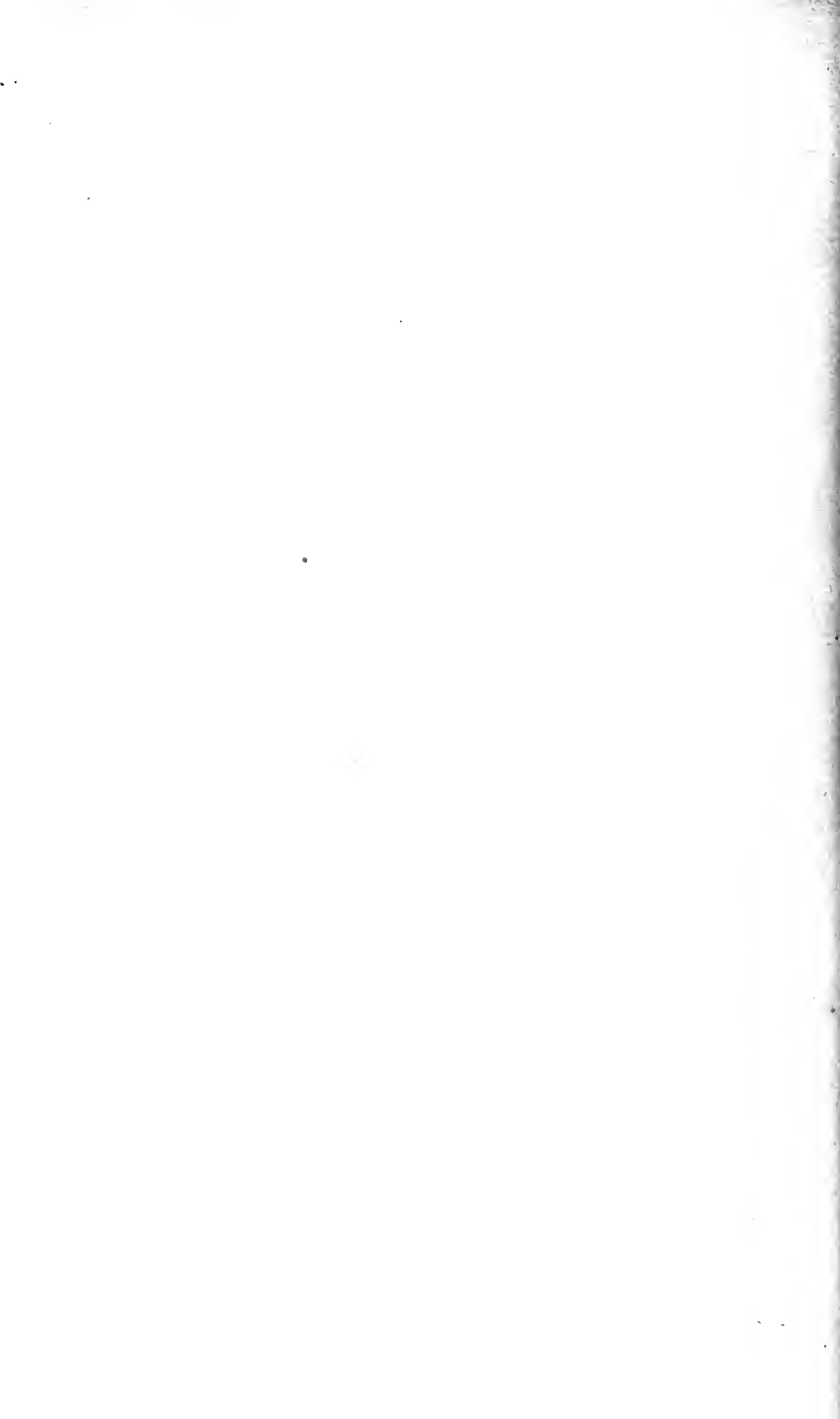
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I



II





[II]



9^a



9^b



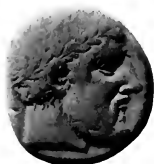
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[III]



1



2^a



2^b



2^c



2^d



2^e



3^a

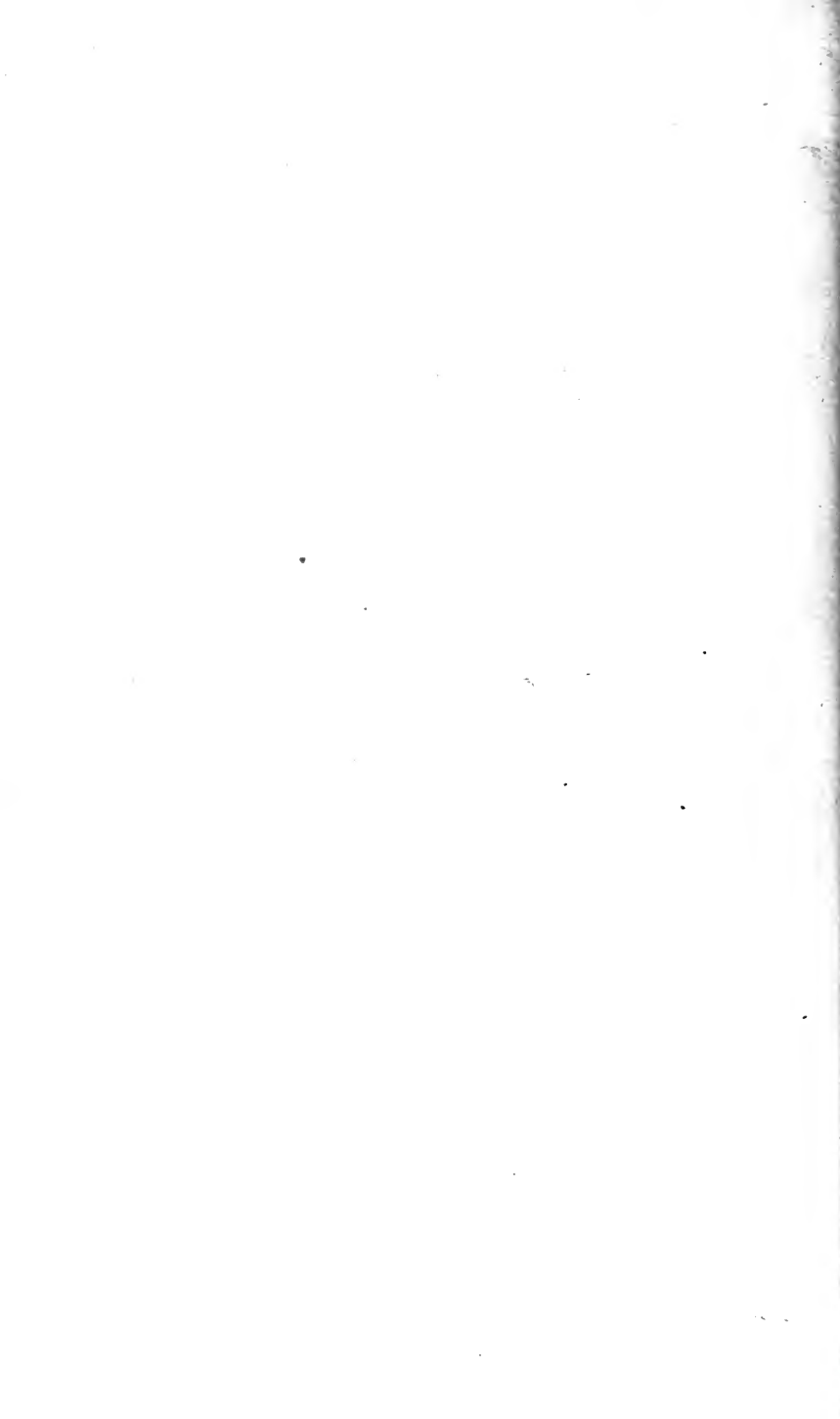


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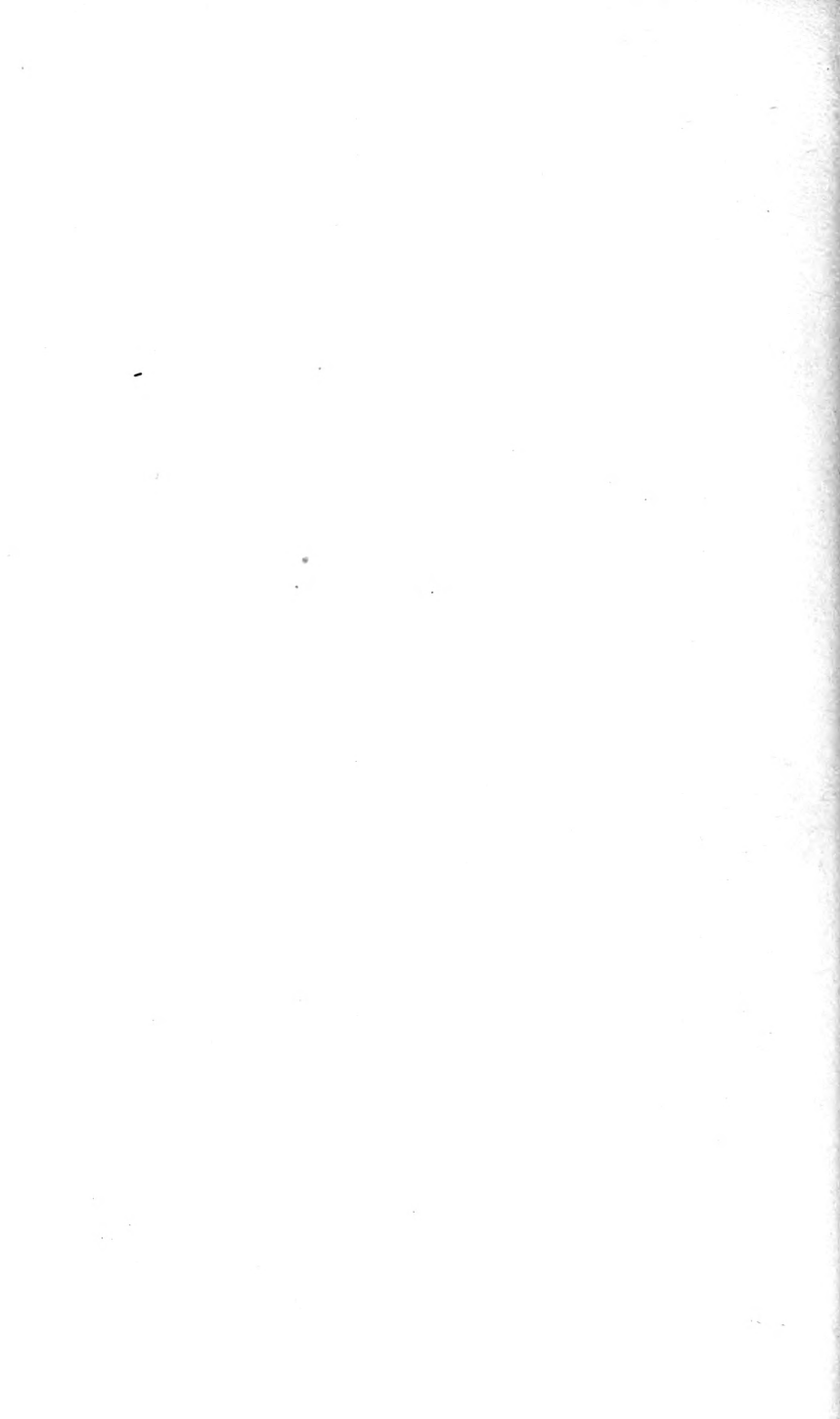
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IV





[V²]



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4



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7



8



[VI or VII]



1



2^a



3



2^b

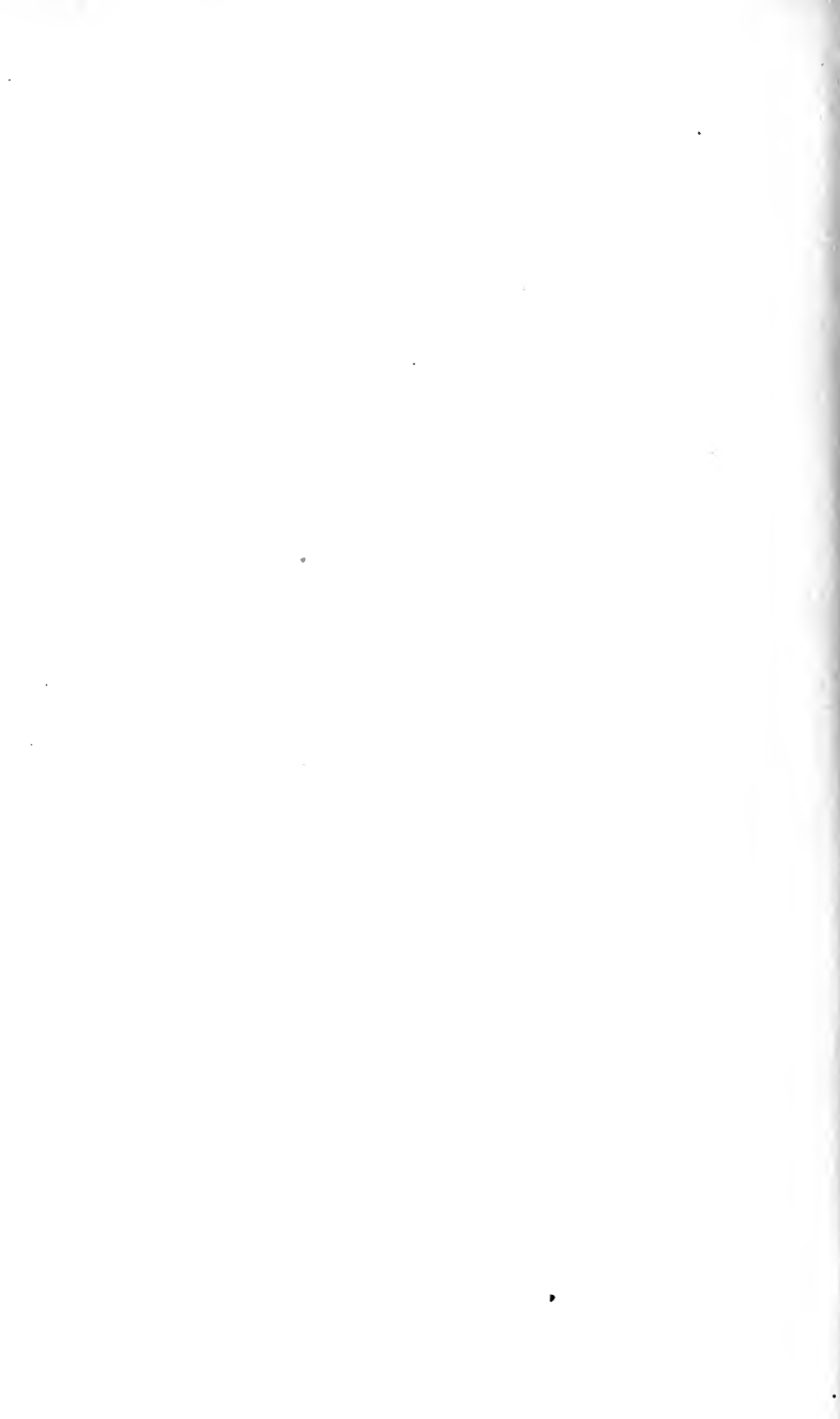


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[IX]

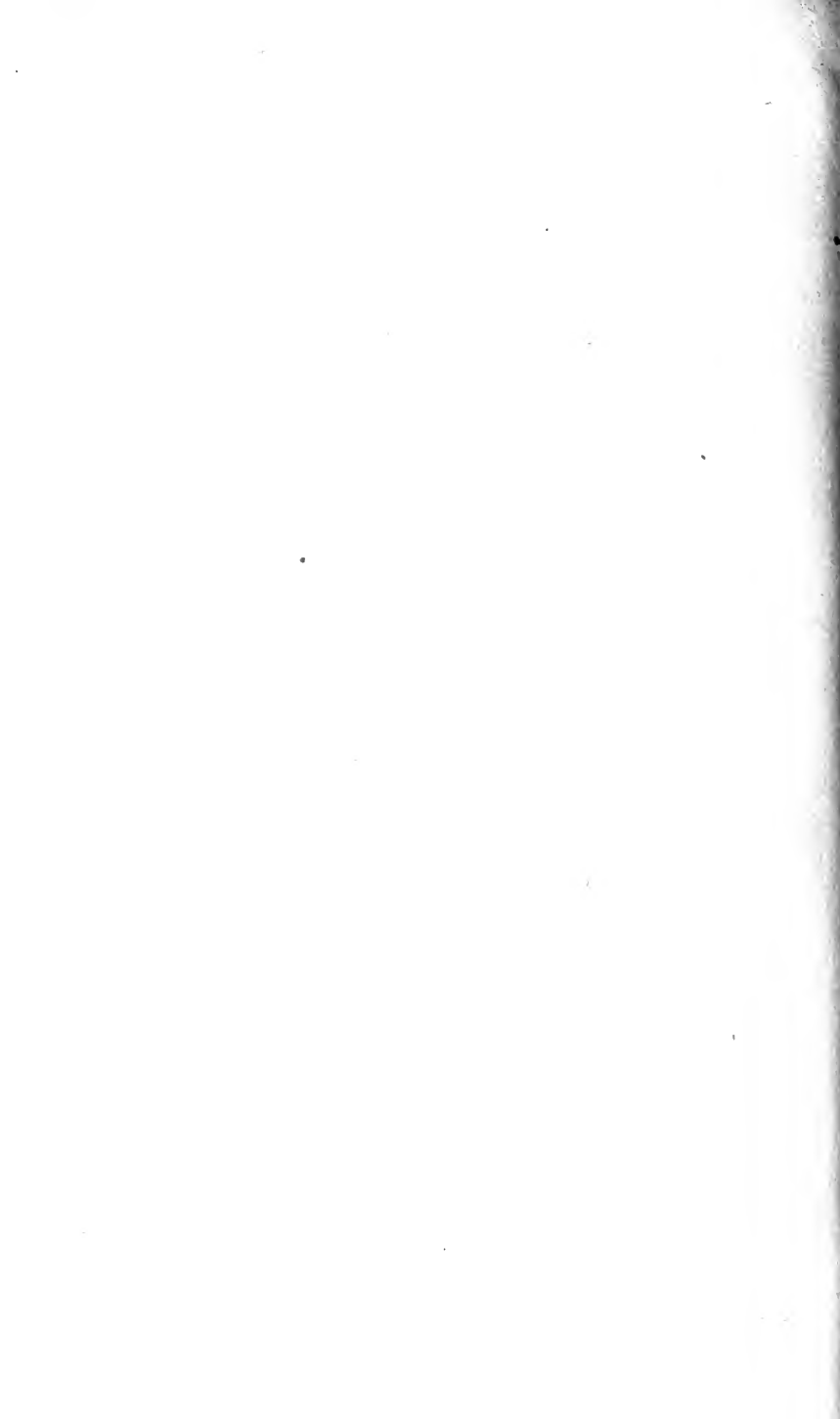


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XI





[XII]



[XIII]

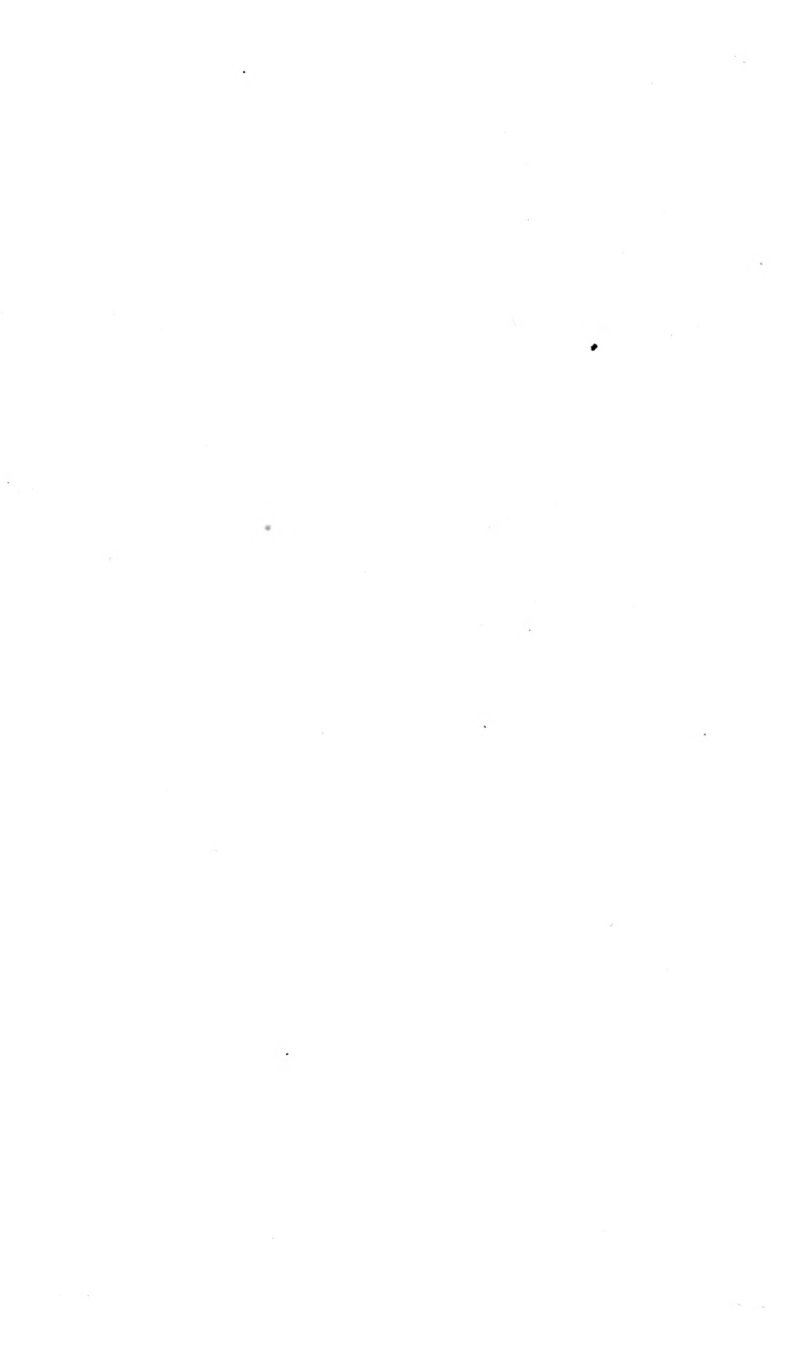


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